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J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D.

FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, D. D.

JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

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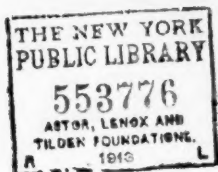
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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1912.

ARTICLE I.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.¹

BY REV. ELIAS D. WEIGLE, D.D.

We are assembled as the representatives of our Seminary, in the presence of the West Pennsylvania Synod, to engage in a very important service—officially to induct into high and honored position as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, the Rev. Herbert C. Alleman, D.D., who was duly elected at a special meeting of the Board in June, 1910, to fill the vacancy in the faculty caused by the resignation of the Rev. Thomas C. Billheimer, D.D., who, in recognition of his long and efficient services in the same chair, has been made professor-emeritus.

In obedience to constitutional requirement and in harmony with time-honored custom, it becomes my duty, as President of the Board of Directors, to deliver the charge to the professor-elect, after which, having taken the obligation required by the constitution of the Seminary, he will pronounce his inaugural.

In charging a professor-elect, there are two ways open: the one is to dwell upon such qualifications and capacities in an instructor, and such things as are suggested by the subjects to be taught, in a manner to emphasize the high importance of studious, industrious, and conscientious fidelity, in meeting the obli-

¹ An address delivered by the President of the Board of Directors of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., on the occasion of the inauguration of Professor H. C. Alleman, D.D., October 9th, 1911.

gations and the responsibilities of the trust accepted; the other is to discuss the theme, and let the discussion suggest to the one charged the lines of thought, and the fidelity to the high trust accepted, demanded in the right ordering of the work of the chair to which he has been called. The latter method being less direct and more to our taste and, we believe, equally effective, we have decided to discuss a theme: "The Present Status of Theological Thought," hoping in this way to bring to your attention the things which contain a direct relation to the subjects of your chair, and have deep claims upon you as the director of the thought and the decisions of the young men under your care.

It is needless for me to dwell, at any length, upon a well-known fact, that, for the last forty or fifty years, theological thought has been, to say the least, in a condition of unrest, if not in a state of flux. The progress of a feverish civilization, under the impulse of a materialistic conception of the reality of things, has caused not a few to think that the fundamentals of faith and life are outgrown and have become obsolete. Science and the applications of the mechanical arts to the utilities of life are achieving that which, until recently, has been among the avowedly impossible. Our palatial railroad trains, climbing the mountains, if not piercing through them, measuring off the prairies in a way which almost annihilates distance and time, the multitudinous ministries of the mysterious power in nature, which we call electricity, the wireless telegraph reducing the dangers of travel by sea to the minimum, making its independence of visible means an aid to Christian faith, the aeroplane, making possible the delivery of goods at sea, which may be purchased by means of wireless telegraphy, are among the things, in the sphere of the material which approach the miraculous. The trolley, the telephone, and rural free delivery, in the ready transmission of person and information, the stimulation of intelligence and the increase of knowledge, are bringing to the doors of our inter-urban and rural population that which in point of advantage and privilege, is rapidly making of every community, and of the world at large, a brotherhood, a vast co-operative society.

But while the progress in the domain of the material is so great, so multitudinous, and so utilitarian and constant, as to

cause little astonishment, we must not forget that there are fundamentals in nature which have ever remained the same, such as light, air, heat and water. It is likewise in the sphere of the moral and the spiritual. We can never get beyond the need of a gracious God, a sin-atoning Savior, a quickening Spirit and the means of pardon and salvation as set forth in the living and eternal Word of God. The three Rs, ruined by sin, redeemed by Christ and regenerated by the Holy Ghost must never be eliminated from our thought, teaching and living. Some things in nature and grace are fixed. In the sphere of grace, we must ever hold to the Divine and human in inseparable union, in the revealed will of God, in the incarnate Christ—His person and work—in the Church of the living God, in the hearts and the lives of Christians, in no unreal sense, in the providence of God, and in unfolding history. The maintenance of the supernatural in revelation and life, in harmony with a sane and safe conservatism coupled with a recognition of the changed conditions of life and progress, is demanded to-day as much as ever.

In studying the present situation touching the Bible there appear, at least, three general classes, the radical or destructive higher critics, the less radical or constructive, and the extreme conservatives, who are satisfied to hold the traditional views of the Bible, but encourage textual and historical studies within certain limits, and in harmony with an acceptance of the Bible as the divinely inspired Word of God. The negative or destructive critics approach the Bible as an ordinary book of philosophy, science or literature, and from the standpoint of textual and historical criticism, and usually to adapt it to the theory of evolution, in accounting for the method of creation, dissect it, putting it to the test of severest analysis. The Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the first three chapters of Genesis and the fall of man as historical, the unity of authorship of the prophecy of Isaiah, the historicity of the Book of Jonah and a part of the book of Daniel are denied. The errancy and fallibility of the Bible are boldly declared. A new Bible out of what is left is constructed. Everything distinctly supernatural is eliminated. The human element in the Bible is made supreme; and as a basis of authority the Bible is thrown to the winds. The New Testament has been subjected to a similar process and the Christ of the Bible and the Savior of men has

been treated likewise. It has come to pass that a book has been written, and issued from the press of Berlin, whose aim is to prove that the historic Christ never lived, and was only a myth. The latest plan of these destructive critics has revealed itself in an attempted control of the Sunday School literature, the purpose being to poison the minds of the rising generation with doubts, by negative teachings, touching God's Word.

If there were no other reasons for rejecting such views of the Bible, these two of a practical nature,—the loss of the sense of sin and the lack of appetite and reverence for the Bible, the Church, and prayer, in those who hold them, should suffice, to say nothing of the way the need of a sin-atonement Savior, and the importance of a vigorous discipline of the Christian life, the fact of a moral order in the universe, as well as a belief in God's benevolence, are lost sight of. None of us will ever know the evil destructive criticism has done. "It is responsible for disturbing the faith of earnest Christians, for undermining the foundations of religious institutions, and for setting people adrift upon a sea of uncertainty, skepticism and secularism. *Not* can we deny that there is some truth in these allegations," says the writer from whose work we have quoted the above, (*The New Application of the Bible*. Selleck), "I can well understand how a writing of the first century may have contained much that a modern Christian's appetite can never assimilate as genuine Christian food," says one of the more conservative critical writers, (Clarke). This, it seems to me, is easily understood, if the Bible is a revelation of God's unchangeable will. What makes the Bible so precious to the believing heart is the fact that it is a book which is adapted to meet the needs of the present just as well as of those of the first century—a book for all times, all climes and all conditions of men. Moreover, the adaptation of what has been uttered many centuries ago, to any age and clime is clear evidence of the supernatural character of such utterance. Here we touch upon a mark of the divinity of the Bible. Life is too short, its mission too responsible to justify a search through huge piles of chaff in order to find a grain of wheat, here and there, now and then, when the rich abundance of pure wheat is easily accessible. At the time of the Reformation "a Christian heart-hunger craved the bread of life in the form of translations of the Bible into the mother-tongues of the differ-

ent peoples, especially those of Teutonic stock." (Selleck). This is ever the case. The Bible is not so much a book to be criticised; it is needed to satisfy this heart-hunger.

The theory of evolution, so plausible, but only a theory, is responsible for the strenuous efforts which have been made in recent times to reconstruct the Bible. Those statements of the Bible not fitting the theory, must be changed, rearranged and reconstructed to meet the demands of the theory. Here is the crux of the problem, which modern thought has thrust to the fore. Conservative thought welcomes textual study, historical investigation, and careful analysis of the various books of the Bible, and of the Bible as a whole, but it will never agree to have the Bible rewritten, reconstructed and robbed of its supernatural character, to give standing to a theory of the universe, and reject that part of the Bible which emphasizes the same as a mighty creation of God. It is impossible to believe in and accept the theory of evolution and the results of the higher criticism, especially in its negative aspects, and retain in its integrity the Bible as the Word of God,—perfect, infallible, and eternal. The creation of matter, life and spirit, and the consequent fall of man, made in the image of God cannot be accounted for upon a theory of evolution. While evolution may have been the method of creation, within the sphere of secondary causes, the Great First Cause, a personal God, must never be lost sight of in any theory seeking to account for God, man, and the world, together with their relations. So scholarly an apologist as Mr. Bruce admits that the canon of Scripture, however it came to be, will not be reconstructed and that the acceptance of modern views of the Bible, to meet the demands of advanced thought in its efforts to harmonize the teachings of the Bible with an evolutionary hypothesis of the universe, are not necessary to a man's salvation. In view of this admission on the part of a high authority, and the fact of the non-agreement of the critical scholars, we who are satisfied to rest our hopes for time and eternity upon the revelation of God as we find it in the Bible, may be allowed to feel grateful.

The unity of the Bible, with the redemptive purpose palpitating throughout it from Genesis to Revelation, is marvellous. A composite book, consisting of sixty-six separate books, the productions of almost forty authors, covering in its coming to be

what it is more than fifteen hundred years, this is itself a mark of the divinity of its origin. It is a most ungracious imposition, at this late day, to have this Bible chopped in pieces, by an unfriendly criticism, setting aside that part of Genesis which tells us of the creation, man's subsequent fall, and the promise of redemption, denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, urging the dual authorship of Isaiah, declaring the book of Jonah unhistorical, and parts of the New Testament of doubtful authenticity. This is all the more trying when we remember that all this has come about in an attempt to adjust the records of divine revelation to meet the demands of a theory as to how the universe has come to be. If men would study the revelation God has made of Himself, man and the world as reverently and as devoutly as they labor to bring it into harmony with their preconceived notions, it would be well for theological thought on the one hand, and for the best results of science on the other. The Bible is its own best witness and it should be heard in its own defense, when its very life and the highest welfare of humanity are in the balance. In matters of material interest, in the last analysis, before conviction, or acquittal, is reached, the accused is heard in his own behalf. But how is it with God's Word? Its severest critics, for the most part, know the least about it, in its deeper meaning and gracious purpose, as a word of light, hope, love, joy, peace, truth and righteousness. Their supreme effort seems to be to nullify its commands, and to misinterpret its overtures of redeeming love to sinful man by eliminating every trace of the supernatural through their rationalizing efforts, making the divinely inspired oracles of God a mere ordinary book of literature, story, poetry and history. There is a modernism emphasized touching the treatment which is accorded the living, eternal Word of God, which, in meeting its demands, would give us a new, a reconstructed Bible, having no guilty sinners needing a sin-atonement Savior, no moral order calling for discipline in righteousness, no eternal joy in the conscious possession of eternal life, and no eternal death in separation from God. But radical destructive criticism has almost run its course, and the noble defense of the faith it has called forth, justifies in a measure, a spirit of forbearance toward its annoying vagaries.

There are some pre-suppositions, or safe, and sane assump-

tions, which should be held in mind, as we approach the study and exposition of the Bible. Among these we may name the fact of a personal God, at once transcendent and immanent in His creation; of a divine revelation which is the expression of His will concerning man; of man coming to the study of the Bible with an open, docile mind, a sincere, prayerful heart, and a child-like reverent spirit, with the recognition of the truth, that here we have the divine and the human in inseparable union, the divine keeping the human from error in making the record of the Divine-human product. God has been pleased to use and honor human personality in revealing Himself and His gracious doings to the children of men. We should come to the study and exposition of the Bible, remembering that it is a translated book, and in no unreal sense, genuinely historical. The human factor in the Bible, together with the relations of time, place and circumstance, need not be overlooked, much less, eliminated, in maintaining its supernatural character. Just as we need not, and should not, minimize the real humanity of Christ when we uncompromisingly hold to His absolute deity. It had to be a translatable book, easily communicating its truths to every clime and nationality, to meet the needs of peoples, so polyglot in character, so various in nationality, so diverse in many things, and yet so alike in the need of redemption. That which the Holy Ghost accomplished miraculously, at Pentecost, enabling the infant Church to declare in many tongues or languages, the wonderful works of God, is now done in an ordinary, but not less real way by the Holy Ghost operating in and through the truth, by the ministry of the Church as the bearer of the means of grace, quickened by the same Holy Ghost, in the salvation of the world. It is a comforting thought this wondrous Book of God in whole or in part, is the means of saving men, in the revelation of sin and salvation, in over four hundred languages to-day.

In the application of redemption, the objective and the subjective in religion must be held in right relation; the former must issue in individual experience in order to individual salvation. Christ for us must become Christ in us the hope of glory. The transcendence of God no less than His immanence must be held to in evangelical thinking, since a right relation of these must keep the heart from landing itself in the frigid atmosphere

of an inhospitable deism on the one hand, and the impersonal region of deluding pantheism on the other. God, at once immanent and transcendent, in and above His creation, is a reality, but an undue or a one-sided emphasis on one or the other leads to eccentric thinking and erroneous action. The distinction and difference between divine inspiration and mere human genius must be insisted on. There is much loose thinking and unfortunate expression touching divine inspiration. Inspiration is accorded to great geniuses, such as Shakespeare in the creation of the drama and Luther in the work of the Reformation. A very liberal brother in the ministry once said to me: "When you compose a sermon you are as really inspired as was the Apostle Paul." In this extreme case it may be seen how very ordinary ability in sermon-making, to say nothing of genius, may be confounded with divine inspiration as it existed in the prophets and the apostles of whom it is written, that they spake and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. Where there is a putting of the inbreathing of God on the low plane of human genius one can see at once what becomes, not only of any theory, but of the fact of divine inspiration, as well.

Higher criticism has been discounting the value of its results by its intemperate impatience with the supernatural in revelation and the Christian life. It ever has been the supreme effort of the more radical critics to make of the Bible a mere ordinary book. A believer in the divine and human in revelation, in the Christ of history and the supernatural in Christian life, will never be able to understand or appreciate this attitude. God's redemptive purpose is found in pulse-like constancy and precision, throughout the Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the close of the book of Revelation. What we have in type and shadow in the Old Testament we have, without figure in the New, for the latter lies concealed in the former, and the former is revealed in the latter. In the New Testament we have open and unhindered access to God's heart of love, an intercessor in Christ, who is able to prevail at the court of heaven in our behalf, a name which in its prevailing power, carries with it the potencies of the Godhead, a ministering Spirit who makes real the Gospel of Christ, as the power of God unto salvation, a love of the Father which, in the mediation of the Son and the advocacy of the Spirit cannot let the yielding sinner go, an assurance

of victory over the world, sin and death, in fellowship with Jesus Christ, and a legacy of peace which nothing can disturb, much less take from us. The entire Bible is the revelation of God's will to man, whose central purpose is man's salvation.

It is a matter of profound interest that co-temperaneous with the assaults upon the Bible was the discovery, with pick and spade, of the buried treasures of ancient cities. With these exhumed treasures has come a large amount of testimony corroborating the statements of revelation. Students of archaeology tell us that these have in no instance contradicted the Bible narratives. An analogy is found in the world's coal fields. When the surface fuel became partially exhausted, coal in largest quantity was discovered. In nature and in all history, when need is present the vindicating testimony is at hand. God ever cares for, and fortifies His Word against the possibility of its destruction.

There is a revulsion against the restraints of authority which is astounding. The legalism of the Old Testament is arrayed against an apprehended liberty of the New in a way to annihilate the power of law and to attenuate the force of love in its real characteristics of mercy and justice in wedded harmony. Modern speculative thought has gone the length of averring that to no Church, no Bible, nor Jesus even, but to the individual moral consciousness we must look for authority. If this dictum should ever be generally accepted there would little be left for your chair, and for our great Church, which, as no other, holds both to the material and formal principle of the Reformation. Such a position, touching the basis of authority, loses sight of the essential place of the subjective in Christianity and results in a license which leaves nothing to a so-called liberty, but an empty name. It is because of this that the Bible is so hated. It is a book of authority. It has its shalls and its shall nots. The Savior's teaching was with authority. He must be accorded leadership over mind, heart and life. The making of the individual consciousness, without any regard to what is objective in religion, the basis of authority, as many do these days, in the last analysis becomes subversive of all authority. Emerson, in one of his essays, urges: "Young man, be strong," without admitting the only source of strength, which is the Lord. This young man found no comfort until he discovered in the Bible

the source of all strength, and it displaced for him the entire set of man's philosophies and empty deceits. At Athens, Paul met the philosophers on their own ground, in the hope of reaching a point of agreement, from which he and they might travel together to the apprehension of the world-saving cross, but with the smallest success. At Corinth, he adopted the better way. He came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto them the testimony of God. He determined not to know anything among them save Jesus, and here his success was phenomenal. It is the great part of an education to learn that every other book which has in it that which endures, ministering blessing adown the centuries, has had its inspiration from the Bible.

The Bible is its own best witness. It is, at once, light, life, love, joy, peace, hope, mercy, justice, truth, righteousness. An owl, closing its eyes, and turning towards the sun, might say, "It does not shine." It is thus with men, when they discredit the light, life, love and truth of the Bible in the blindness of sin, and with their hearts turned away from the sun of righteousness. But to the heart of faith, above the world's philosophies, its theories of evolution, and the severe analysis of revelation stands the cross, as the world's mightiest magnet and its profoundest hope. The world can know nothing really and truly touching man's origin, mission and destiny until it has found the manger, Calvary, the empty tomb and an enthroned humanity, in first-fruits, in the glorified Christ.

The radical critics claim the scholarship of the Christian world but why reiterate this fact so much, if it is as manifest as they say it is? This claim will not bear analysis. Real scholarship is modest, not so self-assertive. Historical and textual criticism is of greatest value when the search for a right understanding of the truth, in all its relations, is the motive. This kind of criticism all true scholarship welcomes as long as its purpose is to make plain and establish positive truth in a positive way. The sainted Dr. Valentine, in his inaugural, on assuming the chair of didactic theology in this Seminary, plead for positive preaching, positive instruction of the young, and a positive Christian life and work. Negative thinkers and actors never serve their day and generation well. It is comparatively easy, but a most ungracious business, to live and labor, in order

to destroy. It is pleasant to record, that the report of the committee on foreign correspondence, at the last General Synod; was refreshing because of its conservative tone, touching evangelical Christianity in the Fatherland.

I congratulate you, my brother, that you are being placed in a position in which all your energies of body, mind and heart will be occupied with the mastery and the teaching of the one book which in its contents, meaning and purpose has challenged the best endeavors of the noblest and the most consecrated of the ages. You, a comparatively young man, are charged to instruct, with all devotion, earnestness and patience, that too small portion of the young manhood of the homes and the congregations of our enlarging Church, in the things of God, of man and of the world, and their relations, not from the standpoint of a cold philosophy, but of a biblical and Christian theology, in order that they may find access to God's heart through Jesus Christ in the power of the Spirit-quickened truth. And having thus come into vital communion with the Triune God, they shall go into the world accredited ambassadors and promulgators of the Gospel of salvation to perishing sinners.

The younger men who, in the nature of things, have had to meet the vagaries of much of modern thought, touching the supernatural character of the Bible and the Christian life, and who have come through it with an unshaken faith, are deserving of great credit. If true to the faith of God as revealed in His Word, and unfolded in Providence and history, they are all the stronger for the conflict and the testing, having come out of the fog of uncertainty into the exhilarating atmosphere of Christian assurance. Admitting the need of an acquaintance with current thought to be rooted and grounded in the fundamentals of the Christian faith, is the thing of supreme concern.

In carrying out the purposes of your chair, bringing your students into the possession of the exegetical knowledge which a careful mastery of the Old Testament in the Hebrew language involves and secures, along with an examination of the negative thought which, from time to time, and especially in the more recent years, has assailed the evangelical positions of the Bible, as the Word of God, is it possible also to lay special emphasis on a familiarity with our Bible in English? The tercentenary of the authorized version so generally celebrated

during the past year, together with the American standard version which is winning much favor, ought to give a new impetus to the mastery of the Bible in the language of the people. You will do the young men in training for the ministry an invaluable service, if you shall succeed in opening the inspired book to them and for them in the language in which they shall proclaim its message of salvation. For to be a minister of the Word a thorough knowledge thereof is a great prerequisite.

You will agree with me, when I affirm that the personal inspiration of a teacher is of the utmost importance in the teaching profession. I need not dwell upon this fact here, only to say, that a part of your work is to inspire young men with a love of truth as you unfold and impart it, in a way to win their respect and confidence. Your influence and example, as well as what you say, must make the young men who sit at your feet, students of the Bible. Strong conviction, beautiful devoutness, absolute sincerity and unconquerable industry will go far to produce the same in those whom you instruct. It is a great, a tremendously responsible thing, to occupy a chair in a Theological Seminary, to be a guide of the thoughts, and a moulder of the Christian characters of candidates for the ministry of reconciliation. It is not enough to know the subjects to be taught. Human nature in the largest possible way should be known.

I bespeak for you many years of service to the Church in our Seminary. May you live to see a vigorous ministry occupying our pulpits, in preparing whom for the noblest work that can engage the thought and the energies of man, you had a liberal share. You will now take the constitutional obligation involved in the acceptance of the chair tendered you by the Board of Directors of our Theological Seminary.

Mechanicsburg, Pa.

ARTICLE II.

THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE
THEOLOGICAL CURRICULUM.¹

BY PROFESSOR HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, D.D.

It is with unfeigned diffidence that I assume the responsibility with which I have been honored in my election to this professorship. I follow in a succession of teachers who well met the demands of their day upon the department, and I succeed to it at a time when the demands are peculiarly exacting. The whole curriculum of theological education is in a state of flux, while historical criticism has ploughed the field of Old Testament study, with its familiar and well-worn paths, into new furrows, so that it is difficult for one who has not kept in close touch with the subject to find his way through the literature which scholarship offers to-day. The solicitude of the Directors of the Seminary, as voiced by their President on this occasion, cannot be greater than my own eager desire wisely to meet the opportunities and responsibilities of my position in the new educational era upon which we are entering. It is fitting that I should discuss some phase of my task, in response to your charge, and I therefore propose as my subject "The Study of the Old Testament in the Theological Curriculum."

As has been intimated, we are in a new era of education. Education performs a two-fold function in human civilization. We may say of it what our Lord said of the children of His kingdom—it is the salt of the earth, and it is the light of the world. Part of its service is the conservation of the best of the past; part of its service is blazing the path of progress. To maintain the proper balance of the two is the problem of education. From Plato to Erasmus there was practically no advance in educational method. Then, after the thousand-year-long night of the Middle Ages, with the Renaissance and the Reformation came the culture program of the humanists, which

1 An address delivered by Dr. Alleman at his inauguration as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Pa., Oct. 9, 1911.

continued to be the norm of higher education until our day. The close of the nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of science and with it the dominance of practical and utilitarian tests of knowledge. The balance of the nineteenth century has not yet been struck, yet a large contribution of new facts and methods has gone into the account of the new century and made a permanent place for itself in our educational programs. The classical curriculum, identified for centuries with intellectual discipline and culture, has been superseded in popularity by utilitarian courses until academic degrees are no longer a guarantee of literary scholarship. In this educational revolution Germany set the pace. Until the year 1900 only the graduates of the *Gymnasium*—the Latin and Greek school—were free to study under any of the four faculties of the University—*theology*, law, medicine or philosophy—the last alone being open to graduates of the *Realgymnasium* and (since 1892) of the *Ober-realschule*. In November, 1900, however, Emperor William, as King of Prussia, when at Kiel, issued his famous rescript, declaring “classical” and “real” education of equal value for the culture of the mind and throwing university studies under all the faculties save *theology* (and classical philology under the philosophical faculty) open to graduates of *Realgymnasien* and *Ober-realschulen*. The *Gymnasium* curriculum was also modified by the substitution of English and modern studies for Greek in certain courses.² The significance of the rescript can scarcely be appreciated on this side of the Atlantic. It was the sweeping away at a stroke of the right wing of classical education. Nearly all of the Federal States have followed Prussia’s example, as have the universities of France and the newer universities of England. It has meant what has been tersely denominated “the passing of Greek” in European education.

For such a change America, notwithstanding her traditions of nearly three centuries, was ready by reason of her own experiment. In a land whose natural resources have been profligately wasted before middle-age, as Rudyard Kipling has pictured us, the obvious motive of utility in education was captivating to the popular fancy, and the arts and sciences which give bread-winning power easily dominate our educational ideals. With

2 Educational Rev. XXIV, pp. 48 ff.

an enormous increase of students in our schools there has been a steady decline in the number of those pursuing the humanistic studies until the schools which were established for fitting in these studies have been compelled either to readjust their courses or close their doors. On the authority of the United States Commissioner of Education the decrease of classical students between 1895 and 1904 was at the rate of fifty per cent. There is practically no demand for Greek in our High Schools, while our colleges are not only admitting students without Greek as an entrance requirement but are graduating them with the B.A. degree without it.³

It was inevitable that the theological school should feel the effect of this revolution in our educational ideals and the domain of theological encyclopædia be invaded by the Spencerian sympathizers. Though we may be far from approving the utilitarian trend of education we have to reckon with the fact that a passion for practical training has swept over our divinity schools. Nor can it be said that the contention for it was without force. Scholastic theology has surely seen its day. Our complex civilization would seem to call for a different method of theological training than that which sufficed for the Middle Ages or even

3 In 1909-10, students of Greek were reported in only 353 out of 10,213 public high schools; that is, in twenty-eight twenty-ninths of our public high schools there was no Greek at all. The number of students of Greek among the 915,061 students in public high schools was 5,511, of whom 3,079 were boys. In the private secondary schools at the same time 5,228 students were taking Greek, of whom 4,395 were boys. In the Lawrenceville Academy the number had fallen from 143 in 1897 to 66; in Phillips Exeter Academy, from 200 to 100. Prof. Francis W. Kelsey of Ann Arbor, Michigan, who has made a profound study of the significance of Latin and Greek in our educational courses, says: "The chief cause of the decline in the number of our students of theology lies in the lack of adjustment between religious and secular education. To how great an extent education in the stages below the college and university has become secularized is not generally understood, on account of the rapidity with which the secularization is going on. Though the choice of a career is, in most cases, not definitely fixed while the student is in the secondary school, his field of choice is so restricted by his selection of studies in this period as to confine him, in respect to facility of professional preparation, within narrow limits. This is particularly the case with theology, for the advantageous pursuit of which the student must have a previous knowledge of Greek." He estimates that of the 512,580 boys pursuing secondary studies in 1909-10, only 50,000 were in that class of secondary schools in which it may be presumed that the claims of the ministry were kept before them, and in which the course is so laid out as to lead easily to the study of theology. And he proposes as a remedy, the support of such schools by taxation in view of the service they render to society in furnishing an adequate leadership on the religious side.

the emerging period of the sixteenth century. By compulsion of the *zeitgeist* applied Christianity has been raised from a second to a first place in the theological curriculum. Such subjects as psychology, sociology, pedagogics and ethics have been knocking for admission. But the curriculum is already full. What is to be done? The larger theological schools, following the experiment of our colleges, have drifted into the elective system. But the elective system in a professional school can at best have but limited application. And not a few of those seminaries which have given it a fair trial have come to feel that "a man is not adequately prepared for the work of the Christian ministry who has spent three years of graduate study in a more or less theological atmosphere and in pursuit of any subject not altogether foreign to religion and theology which he may happen to have elected." The result of an unrestricted application of the elective system has been an obscuration of the chief function of the ministry of the Gospel. For while the importance of an understanding of the *zeitgeist* is not to be denied, nor the value of practical training to be minimized, let it be remembered that the Christian minister is, first of all, a minister of the oracles of God. There has been an over-emphasis of the preacher's relation to his age and the consequent limitation of his responsibilities. It sounds axiomatic—so often have we heard it—that the all-important thing for the theological student to know is the world of to-day, what it is and what it needs, in order to be able competently to minister to it. Those who take this position seem to assume that the business of the Christian minister is simply to help the world in any way he can, quite without regard to Christian thought and what it may have to offer, or that it is so easy to understand Christianity that its theory may be assumed and all the student's time be spent upon the technique of being useful in the world. The Christian minister is not a mere philanthropist or social reformer. He is of course, in the broadest sense of the term a Christian man—whose motto must be "*Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto*"—but he is a man with a specific mission and task in the world. He is a preacher of the Gospel, a minister of the Word. He must know his Bible. Whatever else is desirable, this is imperative. No other knowledge or training will compensate for ignorance here. He is an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Without

Jesus Christ there is no such thing as Christianity. The minister must know his Lord. He must therefore know his Lord's words, His revelation of God, His conception of religion, the experiences and training which made Him the Messiah. He must know the Bible of Jesus Christ, which means that he must know the Old Testament. Our interest in the Old Testament Scriptures, centers in their relation to Jesus Christ. Historically they were His text-book of divine revelation. Out of them He learned His mission. Lk. 4: 18-20; Matt. 9: 13). They gave Him the prophecy and prospectus of His work—the law to which His life, His death and His resurrection conformed. "Beginning at Moses and all the prophets, He expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself." (Lk. 24: 27). "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me." (Lk. 24: 44). "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day." (Lk. 24: 46). Not only does Jesus quote frequently from the Old Testament as having its fulfilment in Himself, but He uses it as the sword of the divine Spirit. It was His weapon in temptation and controversy, the stay and support of His soul. (Matt. 4: 4, 7, 10; 9: 13; 5: 21, 27, 31; 15: 4, 8; 19: 18; 21: 13, 33, 38, 43; 22: 44; 27: 46; Lk. 4: 18; 23: 46). Christ's use of the Old Testament is followed by the apostles and other writers of the New Testament. They treat the Old Testament Scriptures not only as historically and prophetically true but as fulfilled in Him. How large a place this conception fills will appear from a brief summary of the facts of Jesus' life in which they find predictions realized:—Jesus is born of a virgin in Bethlehem, and as an infant returns from Egypt to Nazareth; His public ministry is heralded by John the Baptist; He begins His work in Galilee by claiming the endowment of the Holy Spirit; and in Judea by showing His zeal for God's house; in His acts of healing He takes upon Himself the burdens of men's infirmities; as befits the servant of the Lord He is humble, silent, patient; He is compelled by the stupidity of the people to speak in parables; He enters Jerusalem in lowliness, seated upon an ass; He is greeted as coming in the name of the Lord; His message is not believed; He is rejected by the leaders of the people; He is be-

trayed for money; He is forsaken by His followers; He is reckoned among transgressors and is hated without cause; His garments are divided; His bones are not broken, though His side is pierced; He is not suffered to be holden of death; He is exalted to God's right hand. (Cf. *H. B. D.*, Ext. 321).

There is more for the minister to know—very much more—the institutions of Christianity, the whole history of the Church and its theology—but just as the physician must have his *matéria medica* before he is prepared to write a prescription so the minister must know his Bible before he is prepared to preach.

Accepting it then as practically conceded that the Old Testament offers material of first importance for theological education, it is fair at once to raise the question, In the preparation for the work of the ministry is the study of Hebrew worth while? It is a fair question. It is absolutely certain that the student cannot compass the whole curriculum of theological education, and, as one of the effects of the age-demand for a practical theological training, the proposition has been made that the study of Hebrew be dropped. I have seen and heard it said by very influential men that the demands upon the minister, especially if he is in charge of a city church, leave no time for delving into Hebrew; that this is not to be regretted as he has little need to know Hebrew, with the excellent translations and expositions at hand in his vernacular; that the learning of the language requires time that can be more profitably invested in other pursuits; that a Hebrew class-room is far removed from the living world; that the language is, after all, a subject for Semitic specialists.

Now there is much that is true in these objections—and much is not true. Let us not forget that, whatever else a minister may become in the readjustments of our civilization, he is going to continue to be a preacher of sermons based on Scripture. The preacher—at least in our Lutheran conception of the ministerial office—is fundamentally a teacher of revealed religion, an interpreter of the oracles of God. These oracles are contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Our proposed Confessional Basis declares these Scriptures to be the very Word of God. The Protestant minister is a specialist in Biblical interpretation. This responsibility is thrust upon him by the Protestant theory of authority. By ecclesiastical canons the

Greek and the Roman Churches shut themselves up to a translation—in the one case the Septuagint, in the other, the Vulgate. But the churches of the Reformation said, to state it in the words of Luther, "The Church cannot give more force or authority to a book than it has in itself. A council cannot make that to be Scripture which in its own nature is not Scripture." In other words, authority for the Protestant resides only in the original tongue, and normally only in the original text. Whether that fact leaves us without a charter of authority or lays us open to the charge of Bibliolatry is not a matter which we need here discuss. Our point is, it were a poor preparation for the responsible position of a teacher of God's Word either to neglect or to refuse a training in the languages in which the divine oracles were given. If, as we believe, those two great languages were providentially selected for the purpose of revelation, then a knowledge of them is more than an incidental advantage—insofar as it is possible, it is a duty. In a letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of the cities of Germany in behalf of Christian schools in 1524, Luther wrote:

"The languages (Hebrew and Greek) are the scabbard in which there sticks the Sword of the Spirit, and when we let them go we shall not only lose the Gospel, but we shall finally come to such a pass that we shall not be able to read or write even Latin or German correctly."

Those are strong words—perhaps too strong and rhetorical to be exactly true. Nevertheless there is a large element of truth in them. I speak now only of Hebrew. In what sense is it true that if we let it go we shall lose the Gospel and not be able to construe it correctly in our own vernacular? First of all, the Gospel has an oriental setting. As born of Mary and of the seed of David, as brought up in the home and taught in the school at Nazareth, as seeking His knowledge of God in the Scriptures of His people and observing their ordinances, and as linking His precepts with their teaching and His claims with their authority, Jesus was a Hebrew. Aramaic, the Hebrew vernacular of His day, was His mother tongue; His speech is saturated with oriental imagery. Now it is a well-known fact that the Semitic mind reverses nearly all our habits of thought and life, e. g., in vocabulary, grammar and syntax our English usage is reversed. All that enters into that indefinable thing which we

call the genius of a language—social tradition, custom, habits of life—conveys itself only to those who have at least a reading acquaintance with it. Exegesis is a most delicate science of interpretation, and just as only those who have been trained to read air-currents and clouds and meteoric signs can interpret atmospheric conditions, so only those who know the forms of Hebrew thought can interpret the contents of Hebrew literature. In this sense Luther's words are true. The gist of his whole Reformation lies here; the individual believer may be an authoritative interpreter of God's Word. It is his right to go to the sources and know for himself what God says. But circumstances may prevent his going for himself to the fountain. He is busy with his daily toil or burdened by his cares; he has not the leisure, and the chance is he has not the equipment. So he associates himself with a company of men and women similarly situated and having common desires. This congregation elects one capable and qualified in heart and mind, to whom they say: We have chosen you to be our teacher and minister and to this end we set you apart, freeing you from the burdens and cares which distract us. You shall go to the oracles and bring us their message. That is the Lutheran theory of the office of the minister of the Gospel, and what shall we say of that minister who has never laid his hand on the prophet's heart and heard it beat, who has never seen the features of his face as he calls, upon whose ears the music of his comfort has never fallen? We might almost say that the preacher who has had no Hebrew has never gotten farther than the court of the Gentiles. John Knox was more than forty years of age when he was so impressed with its value to the preacher as an interpreter of the word of God that he took the time from his busy days to acquire it. No matter how excellent a translation we may have, it stands to reason that much of the flavor—and indeed the finest part of it—must be lost if one, having no knowledge of the original, cannot appreciate the fine points of the translation. Any one fairly familiar with the Hebrew text has but to listen to the reading of the Old Testament at the hands of one totally ignorant of it to appreciate the force of this statement. To my mind this answers the objection of those who say that there are better uses for the theological student to make of his time than the study of this dead language. People who call a man to be their religious instructor

and spiritual guide have a right to expect competency. The ignorance of many ministers with regard to the Old Testament is little short of a scandal. It is a minister's business to know some things of which he is ignorant. And for men who bear the name of Luther, and in Luther's name, exalt the Word of God and make its authority a shibboleth, such ignorance is tragic. One cannot escape the suspicion that some of our present-day much-vaunted reverence for the Word of God, so strenuously insisted upon as an ecclesiastical passport, is made a cloak for intellectual laziness. In no way is Protestantism so much in danger of shifting the emphasis of authority from the Word of God to the Church itself as by lowering its entrance requirements of scholarship for its ministers while multiplying its confessional tests. It is a travesty on Lutheranism to insist on the tithing of symbolic mint, anise and cummin while neglecting the weightier matters of the Torah.

Moreover, the proposal to abandon the study of Hebrew in our seminaries is ill-timed. There has been a great revival in Semitic study in recent years. The Semitic revival of the 19th century constitutes one of its glories. Not only has the original text of the Old Testament Scriptures been studied with a scrutiny unmatched in any other age, but the spade of the excavator has unearthed a new literature which has shed light on many a page of the sacred record. From the time that the Swedish Orientalist Akerbald succeeded in deciphering the demotic letters of the Rosetta stone in 1802 to the publication of the Assuan Papyri by Sachau in 1911, the field for Semitic scholarship has been steadily widening. Semitic epigraphy is a field in itself. As to the Hebrew language, the character of Old Testament studies during the past century has been such as to render it more than ever necessary that those who would form a valid and first-hand judgment upon the historical, literary and theological questions which are now forced upon us by the higher criticism of the Scriptures should have a working knowledge of the original tongue. The issues of higher criticism are not to be determined by pulpit invective, ecclesiastical rescript or *a priori* reasoning, but by the principles of sound scholarship. The labors of great grammarians and lexicographers have made available a scientific method of determining the claims of criticism, and the Church does not escape its responsibility with regard to these claims

either by ignoring or anathematizing them. The antidote to destructive criticism is constructive criticism. Men are more eager to be convinced that the Scriptures are true than that they are false, but they do not easily excuse their theological teachers for ignoring questions about which the whole world is astir. The responsibility upon the teacher of the present generation is very grave. Young men of serious purpose, on the threshold of their life-work, are not to be dismissed when they come with their difficulties and perplexities, with a Podsnappian wave of the hand. Criticism has its theories. There is a laboratory in which its theories can be tested, and that laboratory is the Hebrew classroom in a close textual study of the original documents. Constructive scholarship has nothing to fear, and is not dismayed. Its goal is truth. Its anchor is faith in the great historical facts of revelation. Its norm is Christ.

There is another reason why the proposition to drop the study of Hebrew is ill-timed. Israel is central in the world's religious history. Of them came the Messiah. To them belong the glory and the promises. And they are returning to their native land. Already they have bought up a large part of the whole Ghor, or Jordan Valley, and their flocking thither seems almost, if not indeed, the fulfilment of prophecy. After twenty-five centuries Hebrew is again to become a living tongue. Schools having in view the establishment of Hebrew as a compromise vernacular for the polyglot Zionists have been established in Palestine; and Sephardim, Ashkenizim and the remaining endless divisions of the Goluth may in less than ten years make the tongue of David and Isaiah as much a living language as German or Russian. "*Kumah, wenaahleh Jerushalaimah*," "Get up, let's go to Jerusalem," a recent tourist heard some children say. In view of this movement, confirmed by the recent Zionist Conference at Berne, it would seem as if the suggestion to eliminate Hebrew as a subject is at least ill-timed.

But it is to be admitted that all men are not linguists and all theological students do not easily acquire Hebrew. The question may properly be pressed, Is the study of the Old Testament in the theological curriculum to be limited to the Hebrew text? Our theological schools have come to see that they have not discharged their duty to their students simply by offering them instruction in Hebrew. At best the average student does not ad-

vance beyond a lexicon acquaintance with the language, and in the limited time that can be given to this department only a very small portion of the Old Testament can be read in the original. And yet the student has a right to ask that his theological school open to him the whole field of revelation and explicate the historic movement in which Israel played its unique part. The area of Old Testament study must be extended. If no more time can be given to it in the curriculum then the time allowed must be husbanded. No department of Biblical study has had such immense and varied learning lavished on it. Philology and exegesis have been illuminated by archaeology. We live in another world from that in which the Biblical writers moved; hence the associations suggested by a given word, which were obvious at once to those who originally used it, or heard it used, are often not apparent to us; and they have to be recovered by the help of geography, archaeology, life and manners in the East, if the Bible is to speak even approximately to us as it did to those to whom its various parts were originally addressed. Philology and exegesis, assisted by such ancillary studies, form the foundations of sound Biblical knowledge; but the next aspect under which, if it is to be intelligently understood, the Old Testament must be studied, is the historical. The Old Testament is the embodiment of a historical revelation. If there is one thing which the higher criticism of the Scriptures has done for theological study, and which even those who reject all its conclusions will do well to admit, it has restored the emphasis where it belongs in a right idea of such a revelation as we have in the Old Testament, namely upon the historic movement of which the literature is but the record. And that is a sound Lutheran principle. One must be dense indeed who does not catch the spirit of Luther's handling of the Scriptures. Few of his followers have interpreted and commented upon them with the freedom habitual to him. The reason was, he recognized that the books were but the shell of which the kernel was the redeeming love of God fulfilled in Jesus Christ. The redeeming love of God was the great thing, the book was but the shell. If the book did not contain the kernel he was ready to discard it. "Ecclesiastes has neither boots nor spurs, but rides in socks, as I did when I was in the cloister." On the other hand, he highly prized the Psalter "because it so clearly promises Christ's death

and resurrection and prefigures his kingdom....., so that it may well be called a small Bible wherein all that stands in Scripture is fairly and briefly comprehended." Luther, in short, recognizes that God had an end to secure in making a revelation, and this end is to bring near to them His will for our salvation. "If evolutionary thought has taught us anything," says Moberly, "it has taught us not to exclude the end, *ex hypothesi*, when we want to understand the nature of the beginning." This is what gives us true historic perspective and a working possession of that principle the importance of which has long been recognized by theologians, "the progressiveness of revelation." Revelation is a stream whose well-springs are to be found in patriarchal worship, but whose tide sweeps on in the legislation of a nation-builder, in the triumphant battles of a colonizing people, in the sufferings and shame of a nation's rebellion, in the deliverance of heroes and kings, in the visions and sermons of prophets and in the judgment of captivity, until it loses itself in the ocean of the Son of God Himself. The external history afforded the occasion for the internal revelation, but a clear apprehension of the external history makes it plain that on no satisfying hypothesis does it account for the revelation. "That this progress is to be regarded as a merely natural evolution is a conclusion which no results of a legitimate and sober literary criticism warrant." (Garvie). If the early conditions of Israel ally themselves to those of Arabian nomads, "the more delicate and rare becomes our apprehension of that divine relationship which by its perpetual pressure lifted Israel to its marvellous supremacy and which by its absence left Arabia to be what it is to-day." When Prof. Kittel, in the course of his lectures to the school teachers of Saxony, was asked the relation between the Babylonian Penitential Psalms and those of the Bible, he replied, "The relation between the Biblical and the Babylonian Psalms is no other than the relation between the Biblical and the Babylonian ideas of God." And that, in a word, is the contribution which historical criticism has made to Bible study. It has shown the uniqueness of Israel's God as the core of Israel's religion. The Bible has not lost but gained in authority over the intelligent minds of our generation. Historical criticism has not silenced our oracles, or set them aside, but enhanced them. On the occasion of the Centenary Celebration of the British Bible Society, March 6,

1903, Mr. Ealfour said: "In my view, for whatever that view may be worth, the increasing knowledge which we have of the history, not only of Israel, but of the nations which influenced, or were influenced by, the Jewish people, our better knowledge of the texts. . . . these things, so far from rendering the Bible less valuable to us, or less interesting to us, from a religious point of view, greatly augment the value which it must have for an educated community. These researches make it far more of a living record of the revelation of God to mankind than it ever was or ever could be to those who, from the nature of the case, had no adequate conception of the circumstances in which that revelation occurred, or the people to whom it was vouchsafed. And I most truly think that not only is the Bible now what it has always been to the unlearned, a source of consolation, of hope and of encouragement, but it is to those who are more learned, but not probably nearer the kingdom of heaven, augmented in interest, and not diminished, and a more valuable source of spiritual life, than it was, or could have been, in the pre-critical days." Influentially the Bible is a greater book to-day than it ever was before—a greater book for preachers, a greater book for laymen. It is to tempt to a profounder study of this old book in this new age that I conceive to be my task under your call. It is a joy to undertake such a mission in the bosom of a Church whose apprehension of the nature, function and authority of the Scriptures is so sane and consistent as that of the Church of Luther. It may be restated in a word. These Scriptures are a special revelation of God objectively made, our sole authority in matters of faith and life, on the one hand against ecclesiastical tradition, on the other hand against the uncertain and indeterminate inner light. They are authoritative, not because of what the Church has said about them, but because of what they have said to the Church, in their revelation of salvation through Jesus Christ. By the example of her founder, as well as by the declaration of her Confession, the Lutheran Church is committed to the Scriptures. She accepts it as her mission to bear witness to their truth. This mission I accept as my commission.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE III.

A STUDY IN THE MYSTICISM OF LUTHER.¹

BY REV. PAUL HAROLD HEISEY, A.M.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT IN LUTHER.

Many and varied influences converge in the religious experience of Luther. It is in his early training that we must seek the roots and the beginnings of his religious life. Both the family and the community life of Mediaeval times were distinctively religious. Luther's parents, Hans and Margaret Luther, were of a deeply religious nature, and early devoted attention to the religious training of their son. There was much in the religious thought of the times that was primitive and crass, but the religion in general has been characterized as "simple, unaffected, and evangelical."

By heredity, Luther was of a religious turn of mind, and grew up in a religious atmosphere. Luther's father had a great reverence for the Church and religion. It is reported that upon one occasion friends found Luther's father engaged in prayer while bending over the child Martin in the cradle. Luther's mother was even more religious and devout than his father. She constantly had in mind the religious training of the child. She early taught him to pray. Luther's first religious instruction included the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. This instruction had a life long influence upon him, and he has handed down to posterity explanations of these norms of religious instruction which are used to this day. The religious life of his mother, common to the times was marked by superstitions and fears. She is described as having been "imaginative, and sensitive, the prey of all kinds of conflicting emotions." Upon one occasion she thought that herself and children were bewitched. These early impressions lingered long in the life of Luther.

The temperamental traits of the mother are seen in Luther.

1 A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College, of the State University of Iowa, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

He was at all times sensitive to religious influences and impressions. "He was a dreamy, contemplative child; and the unseen world was never out of his thoughts." (Lindsay).

Early in life Luther was sent to the community school, and his instruction included a study of the Psalter, and classical religious hymns. Religious exercises played an important part in the daily program of the school.

An early mystical influence that entered into Luther's experience was the instruction he received while attending school at Magdeburg, in 1497, when fourteen years of age. The school was conducted by members of the "Noll Brothers." This society was associated with the mystical organization known as the "Brethren of the Common Life." The teachings and the views of this organization have been termed the "new mysticism."²

When one considers the life and work of Luther, he can see how they conformed to the ideals of this "new mysticism," the roots of which were planted in the young mind while at school at Magdeburg. The writings of members of this group had a great influence upon Luther in his later studies.

After spending a year at Magdeburg, Luther was sent to Eisenach for the furthering of his education. At the school of St. George's Church he proved to be a good student. In addition to the excellent instruction he received at this school, two strong influences entered into his life; the parental attention and religious instruction he received in the Cotta home, and also the presence of the order of the Franciscans in the city.

In 1501, Luther entered the University of Erfurt. As a preparation for law studies he was trained in Philosophy. The works of Aristotle were the chief text-books. The influence of the mystical element in this classical philosopher is seen in Luther's discussion of the topic of *Christ as the Word of God*. In this he enters into a philosophical discussion maintaining "the unity of essence between the Father and the Son, together with their difference in person." In this discussion Luther availed himself of the philosophy of Aristotle with which he was acquainted.

In Erfurt, Luther also studied the works of D' Ailly, Gerson, Biel and Occam. All these authors strengthened the mystical

² For a characterization of this organization see Jones' *Studies in Mystical Religion*.

element in Luther. Luther held Gerson in high esteem and looked upon him as one who had attained a true understanding of the Gospel. He commends the writings of Gerson because they dealt with spiritual temptations as apart from those of the flesh. He places Gerson even above St. Augustine in this matter.

William of Occam was Luther's favorite scholastic. Occam, together with Biel and D' Ailly were the exponents of nominalism, and this philosophy appealed to Luther. Dr. Jacobs writes: "To Luther the mystical side of nominalism was attractive; since it taught that, as subjects can be known only individually, all other truth must be remitted to the domain of faith."³ The teachings of nominalism when applied to the Church emphasized the individual Church above the Papacy. Both Occam and D' Ailly had spoken against the authority of Rome. The influence of these teachers and this philosophy—especially its mystical tendency—upon Luther is seen later in his attitude toward the supremacy of Rome.

As a result of a vow made during a mystical experience, discussed later in this study, Luther entered, on July 17, 1505, the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt, with the hope of securing peace for his soul through living a monk's life. Many elements in his monastery experience tended to deepen his mystical tendency.

The first of these elements which we mention is the *asceticism* of the monastic life. It was characterized by humility, often of a false kind; by a strict self-denial, mortification of the body, fasting and other disciplines. Luther writes: "In truth I have often fasted until I became sick and was almost dead." Of his faithfulness to the rules of the monastery he writes: "Verily, I was a devout monk, and followed the rules of the order so strictly that I cannot tell you all. If ever a monk entered into heaven by his monkish merits, certainly I should have obtained entrance there. All the monks who knew me will confirm this; and if it had lasted much longer, I should have become literally a martyr, through watchings, prayer, reading and other labors."⁴ He even pursued some of his studies "alone for the practical end that, by subjection to this discipline, he might find peace of con-

³ Jacobs: Martin Luther p. 16.

⁴ Morris: Quaint Sayings and Doings concerning Luther, p. 33.

science in assurance of salvation." In many of his efforts it was this mystical "assurance of salvation," and spiritual peace that Luther desired. He constantly sought personal experience.

In the monastery, Luther's *studies* were a continuation of the authors he followed in the University, chiefly Gerson, Biel, D' Ailly, and Occam. A treatise by St. Bernard was placed in his hands from which he gained immediate and lasting benefits. During his spiritual struggles the aim of his friends was to show him the personal application of the Gospel and to call upon him to experience personally the message of the Scriptures. In the treatise by St. Bernard, the emphasis was placed upon the word "*tibi*," "for thee." The comfort Luther received from this treatise can be seen in the fact that he reflects its influence in his explanation of the Lord's Supper, in his *Small Catechism* (1529) emphasizing the personal experience. He writes:

Who is it, then, that receives this Sacrament worthily?

"Answer. Fasting and bodily preparation are indeed a good external discipline; but he is truly worthy and well prepared, who believes these words: 'Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.' But he who does not believe these words, or who doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for these words: 'For you,' require truly believing hearts."⁵

Upon entering the Augustinian Order Luther received the name, "Brother Augustine." The writings of St. Augustine formed the basis of the constitution of the Order and his works were carefully and faithfully studied. In these writings Luther found comfort and support for his faith. Luther claims that he followed the example of St. Augustine in going back to the sources of the Christian faith rather than accepting the word of the Fathers. He constantly appealed to the writings of St. Augustine as for instance at the Leipzig Disputation. He held St. Augustine to be the highest among the Church Fathers, and referred his friends to his writings.

Two *personal friends* came to Luther's aid in his spiritual conflicts, the Father Confessor of the monastery, whose name has not been preserved to history, and the Vicar-General of the Order, John von Staupitz. The former brought comfort to Lu-

⁵ Jacobs: The Book of Concord. Vol. I, p. 374.

ther by making personal application of the Gospel, a particular instance of which is given in another part of this paper.

Dr. Staupitz is described as being "of a deeply mystical type of Christianity," also that he stood "upon the basis of the hitherto practical mysticism."⁶ Luther acknowledges the influence of Dr. Staupitz upon his life when he writes: "If Dr. Staupitz, or rather God, through Dr. Staupitz, had not aided me in this, I would have been long since in hell." Staupitz emphasized the love of God, the inward turning of the soul to God, and other teachings savoring of the mysticism of Tauler, and other German mystics. He taught Luther that much in his convent experience and life was useless, especially the attempts to experience God through the so-called righteous works. He taught Luther that repentance was not so much an act, or succession of acts as a state of heart and life. This latter thought is echoed in the first of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses which were published in 1517: "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying: 'Repent ye; etc.' intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence."⁷

The Augustinian Order required diligence in the *study of the Holy Scriptures*. Luther was very faithful in this study, giving special attention to the Psalter, Romans, and Hebrews. His study of Romans and other writings of Paul gave him comfort. After he had gained a true conception of the righteousness of God as portrayed by Paul, he began to find peace. Paul's words "the just shall live by faith," brought peace to his troubled soul, and it was this phrase that entered into a number of the mystical experiences of Luther. One reason that Luther found comfort in the writings of Paul was that there is a marked similarity between the religious experiences of the two individuals. The teachings of Paul dominated the later thought of Luther, and furnished the central doctrine of the Reformation, "Justification by faith."

Luther found comfort in the mystical character of Paul's experience, and teaching. For instance, we can take Paul's words in Galatians 2:20: "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of

6 Koestlin: *The Theology of Luther*. Eng. Tr. Vol. I, p. 68.

7 See *Luther's Primary Works*, edited by Wace and Bucheim.

God, who loved me and gave Himself for me." Commenting upon this verse, Luther writes:

"He [Christ] is my form, my furniture and perfection, adorning and beautifying my faith, as the colour, the clear light, or the whiteness do garnish and beautify the wall. Thus we are constrained grossly to set forth this matter. For we cannot spiritually conceive that Christ is so nearly joined and united unto us, as the colour of whiteness is unto the wall. Christ therefore, saith he, thus joined and united unto me and abiding in me liveth this life in me which now I live; yea, Christ Himself is this life which now I live. Wherefore Christ and I in this behalf are both one."⁸

Luther gives a far more extensive treatment of this verse, but the above excerpt suffices to show Luther's perfect harmony and sympathy with the mysticism of Paul.

The *prayer life* of the monastery was formal and lacked the warmth of personal religion. It consisted, mainly in conformity to "hours" and the repetition of the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria. It is true that Luther found little or no comfort in this prayer life but it opened the way for a true prayer life which became a strong factor in Luther's later life.

Upon the recommendation of his monastery friend, Dr. Staupitz, Luther was called to be a professor at the University of Wittenberg. His first duty was that of lecturing upon the *Dialectics* and *Physics* of Aristotle. From the very first Luther had a dislike for philosophy, and preferred theology to philosophy. He availed himself of the opportunity of introducing Scriptural studies along with the studies in Aristotle. He continued to study St. Augustine, the "patron saint" of the university. Also, he paid considerable attention to the study of the writings of St. Paul, who was the theological guide of the university teachers. It was during Luther's incumbency as a professor at Wittenberg that he made the journey to Rome, and met with such disappointment. On this journey he experienced a mystical state treated in another portion of this paper.

His studies in the Scriptures centered about Paul's letter to the Romans, and the Psalms. In the former he found the doctrine of Justification by Faith which was to mean so much to him later.

⁸ Luther's Commentary on Galatians. (S. S. Miles edition), p. 267.

In the Psalms he found that the writer had experiences similar to his own, and the record of the struggles and spiritual conflicts of the Psalmist came as a relief to Luther's heart. He paid particular attention to the penitential Psalms, and he himself sought the "inward imparting of the forgiveness of sins." In his treatment of the Psalms we see the effort of Luther to experience the message of the Scripture. In his lectures upon the Psalms which he gave in 1513, and then again in 1517, he made use of the writings of Bernhard, Hugo of St. Victor, and Bonaventura, all of whom were of a deep mystical nature.

During this time, Luther was reading the mystical writings of Tauler. Luther's appreciation of Tauler's worth is seen in these words from a letter Luther wrote to Spalatin in 1516: "If you take any pleasure in reading the ancient and pure Theology in the German language, read the sermons of John Tauler. For neither in the Latin, nor the German language, have I found purer and more wholesome theology, nor any that so agrees with the Gospel."⁹ Again, "Although he is unknown to the theologians in the schools, nevertheless I know that I have found more pure doctrine therein than I have found or can be found in all the books of the Scholastics at all universities."

Through the writings of Tauler, Luther was attracted to a work known as the *Theologia Germanica*.¹⁰ It became one of the chief sources of his mysticism. According to Winkworth this work was probably written in 1350. It is the "literary gem" of the religious movement known as the "Friends of God." The author of the work is unknown, but this is not strange when we know their principle of self-abnegation. The work was brought to light by Luther, who published a portion of it in 1516, under the title, "*Was der alte und neue Mensch sei*." In 1518 he issued a second edition to which he added a preface giving his estimate of the work. Among other things he wrote: "Next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands, whence I have learnt, or would wish to learn more of what God, and Christ, and man and all things are."

⁹ Jacobs: Martin Luther, p. 45.

¹⁰ *Theologia Germanica*. Tr. from the German by Susanna Winkworth. London: Macmillan Co., Ltd. Prof. Reuss, the Librarian of the University of Wurtzburg, discovered a manuscript of the *Theologia Germanica* bearing the date of 1497, which has been published by Prof. Pfeiffer of Prague.

We close this portion of the study dealing with the mystical influences entering into Luther's life, with the comment of Koestlin: "The influence of mediaeval mysticism in giving shape to his general conception of doctrine is very marked."

II. EVIDENCES OF LUTHER'S MYSTICISM.

1. Mystical States.

There is no doubt that Luther experienced "mystical states," and that these had a powerful influence upon his life and action. His so-called "conversion" is the first of any importance. He was on his way from Mansfield to Erfurt, when he encountered a severe storm. He became frightened, and as was common to him and his day, he saw the hand of God in this manifestation of nature. He constantly realized the Unseen in the works of nature. "In an instant a flash of blinding splendor seemed to kindle the world, and a deafening thunderclap shook the ground. It was as if death leaped upon Martin. He sank down, and so soon as he regained a clear consciousness of life, he cried out, 'Help, sweet Saint Anne; save me, save me, and I will become a monk.'¹¹ This incident occurred on July 2, 1505. And against all the protests of his father and friends he entered the Augustinian cloister, on July 17th, thus carrying out the vow he made during the storm, and following what he believed to be the Divine Will.

While in the monastery Luther had a constant spiritual struggle. He was constantly fretting about his sins and misdoings.

In his classification of mystical states and experiences Professor James mentions first, "the deepened sense of the significance of a maxim or formula which sweeps over one."¹² It is interesting to note that he uses an experience of Luther to illustrate this type. Luther writes: "When a fellow-monk one day repeated the words, 'I believe in the forgiveness of sins,' I saw the Scripture in an entirely new light; and straightway I felt as if I had found the door of Paradise thrown wide open."

A similar experience is brought out in this record from Luther: "I often confessed to Dr. Staupitz, and put to him, not trivial matters, but questions going to the very knot of the question. He answered me as all the other confessors have answered me: '*I do not understand.*' At last he came to me one day,

¹¹ Bayne: Martin Luther. Vol. I, p. 142.

¹² James: Varieties of Religious Experience.

when I was at dinner, and said: 'How is it that you are so sad, Brother Martin?' 'Ah,' I replied, 'I am sad indeed.' 'You know not that such trials are good and necessary for you, but would not be so for any one else.' All he meant to imply was, that as I had some learning, I might, but for these trials, have become haughty and supercilious; but I have felt since that what he said was, as it were, a voice and an inspiration of the Holy Spirit."¹³

Luther's "second conversion" is also illustrative of the mystical element. The thoughts of Staupitz, "acted upon, helped Luther gradually to win his way to peace, and he told Staupitz long afterwards that it was he who had made him see the rays of light which dispelled the darkness of his soul. In the end, the vision of the true relation of the believing man to God came to him suddenly with all the force of a personal revelation and the storm-tossed soul was at rest. The sudden enlightenment, the personal revelation which was to change his whole life came to him when he was reading the *Epistle to the Romans* in his cell. It came to Paul when he was riding on the road to Damascus; to Augustine as he was lying under a fig-tree in the Nutan Garden; to Francis as he paced anxiously the flag-stones of the Partincola chapel on the plain beneath Assissi; to Suso as he sat at the table in the morning. It spoke through different words: to Paul, 'Why persecutest thou, me?' to Augustine, 'Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh'; to Francis, 'Get you no gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, no wallet for your journey, neither two coats, nor shoes nor staff'; to Suso, 'My son, if thou wilt hear my words.' But though the words were different, the personal revelation which mastered the men was the same."¹⁴

A truly mystical state with an auditory experience was the instance in the Church at Wittenberg. He had just begun explaining the *Epistle to the Romans*. When he came to the thought the "just shall live by faith," the idea penetrated his mind, and it seemed to him that he heard these words spoken aloud several times.¹⁵

¹³ Table-Talk.

¹⁴ Lindsay: *The Reformation*. Vol. I.

¹⁵ Lombroso: *The Man of Genius*.

In 1511, Luther made a journey to the Holy City, Rome, on business for the Order of which he was a member. His disappointment at the things he saw and heard had a telling effect upon his entire life, and hastened his break with the Catholic Church. It was while on this journey that Luther experienced what was virtually a mystical state.

He was climbing the twenty-eight steps of the so-called judgment seat of Pilate, on his knees, that he might secure the treasure of indulgence by this act. While ascending the stairway there was a flash came to his mind and thought, that bore the message of his deep study of the Scripture, "The just shall live by faith." The words "came to him as though uttered in tones of thunder."

2. Natural Mysticism.

There is a deep strain of mysticism in Luther's view of nature. It is true that Luther had nothing in the way of a scientific view of nature but he advanced beyond the prevailing thought that only the Evil One was manifested in nature. He held this to be true, as was common to his time, but he also saw God in nature. Natural mysticism may be defined in these words from Inge, "Nature is the language in which God expresses His thought; but the thoughts are far more than language."¹⁶ Luther saw a deep significance in nature. He saw the life of God reflected there, as in his words, "God is in the smallest creature, in the leaf, or the blade of grass."¹⁷

His interest in nature and his sympathetic interpretation is brought out in the following: "That little bird has chosen his shelter, and is quietly rocking himself to sleep without a care for to-morrow's lodging, calmly holding by his little twig, and leaving God to think for him."¹⁸

Pfleiderer says of Luther: "His feeling of nature was of a fineness, fervour, and sensibility such as belongs genuinely to poetic natures. . . . In his reflective contemplation and sympathetic vivification of nature no one stands nearer to Luther than Goethe."¹⁹

3. Symbolism.

¹⁶ Inge: *Christian Mysticism*.

¹⁷ Pfleiderer: *Evolution and Theology*, p. 72.

¹⁸ Table-Talk.

¹⁹ Pfleiderer: *Evolution and Theology*.

The study of mysticism reveals the fact that in all ages it has found expression in art and symbolism. Luther's father had a coat-of-arms composed of a bow and arrow flanked by two small roses. Luther adopted for his use a coat-of-arms using as its basis the rose, but he enlarged upon it in order to carry out his religious ideals and views. Jacobs speaks of Luther's design as "an emblem of his theology." The depth of meaning Luther places in each element of his design is characteristic of mysticism.

Writing from Coburg, to Lazarus Spengler, Government Clerk at Nuremberg, who was a friend of Luther, he gives the following description of his coat-of-arms: "As you desire to know whether my seal is correct, I will give you my first thoughts, for good company, which I intend to have engraven upon my seal, as expressive of my theology. The first thing was to be a cross (black) within the heart, and having its natural color, to put me in mind that faith in Christ crucified saves us. 'For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness.' Now, although the cross is black, mortified, and intended to cause pain, yet does it not change the color of the heart, does not corrupt, *i. e.*, does not kill, but keeps alive. 'For the just shall live by faith,'—but by faith in the Saviour. But this heart is fixed upon the center of a white rose, to show that faith causes joy and consolation and peace, not as the world gives peace and joy. For this reason the rose is white and not red, because white is the color of all angels and blessed spirits. This rose, moreover, is fixed in a sky-colored ground, to denote that such joy of faith in the spirit is but an earnest and beginning of heavenly joy to come, as anticipated and held by hope, though not yet revealed. And around this ground-base is a golden ring, to signify that such bliss in heaven is endless, and more precious than all the joys and treasures, since gold is the best and most precious metal."²⁰

4. Diabolical Mysticism.

"Diabolical mysticism" is a term used by Görres, in his five volume work on mysticism.²¹ This term includes witchcraft and diabolical possession. It covers the so-called manifestations of the Evil One in nature. Professor James writes of it as "re-

²⁰ De Wette, 4:79 *sqq.* Quoted by Morris: *Quaint Sayings*, p. 175.

²¹ Inge, *Christian Mysticism*.

ligious mysticism turned up-side-down." In common with the beliefs of his time, Luther held many superstitions and false views in regard to the works of nature, and the diseases of the human body. The following paragraphs from Luther will show that his thought was saturated with this phase of mysticism. One day when there was a storm abroad, Luther said: "'Tis the devil who does this; the winds are nothing else than good or bad spirits. Hark! how the devil is putting and blowing."²² Again he writes: "Idiots, the lame, the blind, the dumb, are men in whom devils have established themselves; and all the physicians who heal those infirmities as though they proceeded from natural causes, are ignorant blockheads, who know nothing about the power of the demon."²³

"There is no proof," writes Ireland, "that the delusions and hallucinations to which the German reformer was subject did in any way alter or modify his religious views."²⁴ But, surely, this type of mind, and temperament was a determining factor in the formation of his views.

5. Religious mysticism.

A. General Conceptions.

a. Faith.

In any genuine religious faith there is a mystical element. To Luther, as to St. Paul, faith was not merely historical assent, but a warm religious experience. It was not mere acceptance of the historicity of Christ and the Gospel, but a real communion, and spiritual union with God and Christ. Faith to Luther, was "life in God."²⁵ "a gift of God,"²⁶ Christ "standing in our hearts."²⁷

Luther taught that "through faith" a Christian man "passes above himself into God; out of God he passes beneath himself through love, and yet remains ever in God and the divine love."²⁸

He distinguishes two kinds of faith. "There are two kinds of believing: first, a believing about God which means that I believe that what is said of God is true. There is, secondly, a believing

22 Michelet's *Life of Luther*. Tr. by Hazlitt.

23 *Ibid.*

24 Ireland: *The Blot upon the Brain*, p. 55.

25 Pfleiderer, p. 53.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 179.

27 Lenker ed. 11:355.

28 *Primary Works*, p. 131.

without any doubt that He will be and do to me according to the things said of Him. Such faith, which throws itself upon God, whether in life or in death, alone makes a Christian man."²⁹ The thought of throwing one's self back upon God is a thought expressed by many mystics.

Faith is at the basis of God working in a Christian. "The way of the Lord, as you have heard, is that he does all things within you, so that all our works are not ours but his, which comes by faith."³⁰

b. Reason.

Luther's attitude towards reason was that of a mystic. He subordinated reason to faith. It is true that the object of faith in Luther's case differed from that of the extreme mystic. Luther's faith was grounded upon the message of the Holy Scriptures, while that of the extreme mystics was grounded upon the revelations received directly, personally, and intuitively. Luther held that reason had no share in things eternal, spiritual, and heavenly. When it attempts to interpret these things it should be designated as "*Frau Hulda*," "*Harlot*," etc.³¹ He held the 'feeble' knowledge of God attainable by reason to be "*not a whit better than no knowledge at all*."³²

"It is not possible to understand even the smallest article of faith by human reason; so that no man on earth has ever been able to catch or grasp a proper idea, or certain knowledge of God."³³ His approach to the Scripture is indicated in his words: "Just shut your eyes and say: What Christ says must be true, though no man can understand how it can be true."³⁴ Luther contended that a thing might be false in philosophy and true in theology. "In theology, so much must be heard and believed, and established in the heart, God is truthful, however absurd the things He declares in His Word may appear to reason."

In his sermon for Ascension Day, where he discusses Christ's Ascension into Heaven, he writes: "*Reason cannot comprehend how this can be*. Therefore, it is an article of faith. Here one

²⁹ Er. 22:15. Lindsay, p. 429.

³⁰ Lenker, 10:124.

³¹ Koestlin, *Theology of Luther*, Vol. I, p. 216.

³² Ibid, p. 263.

³³ Ibid, p. 264.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 265.

must close his eyes and not follow reason, but lay hold of all by faith. For how can reason grasp the thought that there should be a being like ourselves, who is all-seeing and knows all hearts and gives all men faith and the Spirit; or that he sits above in heaven, and yet is present with us and in us and rules over us? Therefore, strive not to comprehend it, but say: This is Scripture and this is God's Word, which is immeasurably higher than all understanding and reason. Cease your reasoning and lay hold of the Scriptures, which testify of this being—how He ascended to heaven and sits at the right hand of God and exercises dominion.”³⁵

In his view of reason, Luther imbibed the spirit of the older theologians who were wont to quote as their guides: “credo ut intelligam”; and “credo quia impossibilis.”

c. Prayer.

Prayer to Luther was “not an ascending of the mind (*mentis*) but an uplifting of the soul (*animae*).”³⁶ In prayer the believer's heart mounts up to God. The power of prayer, Luther taught, must be learned through experience.

His familiarity with God, and his consciousness of His presence is brought out in this prayer offered by Luther at the Diet of Worms: “O, God, O Thou, my God, do Thou, my God stand by me, against all the world's wisdom and reason. Oh, do it. Thou must do it. Yea, Thou alone must do it.... O God, dost Thou not hear me, O my God? Art Thou dead?.... Hast Thou chosen me for this work? I ask Thee how I may be sure of this. Thou art my God, where art Thou?”³⁷ The entire prayer offered under the trial of the occasion of which the above is but an extract breathes the same fervor and devotion and nearness to God.

His own practice in prayer is suggested in his words written from Coburg to his friend Spalatin: “I am here like a hermit, and like a land without water. I am unable to produce anything which I consider worth writing about to you, except that with all the might of prayer, with prayerful sighs and groans, I endeavor to reach heaven, and, though wicked, knock at the gate

³⁵ Lenker, 12:191.

³⁶ Koestlin, Vol. II, p. 472.

³⁷ Jacobs, Martin Luther, p. 196.

of Him, who has said, 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you.'"³⁸

Veit Dietrich writes of Luther: "He prays as devoutly as one who is conversing with God, and with such hope and faith as one who addresses his father."³⁹

d. Mystical Method.

Practically every mystic, and especially those who can be looked upon as leaders, laid down some plan or formula for the attainment of the highest states of mystical consciousness. St. Theresa had a methodical plan. The *Theologia Germanica* contains suggestions of such methods. The nearest approach to such a mystical formula on the part of Luther is his statement, with its explanations: "*Oratio, Tentatio, Meditatio faciunt Theologum.*"⁴⁰ *Oratio*, Luther explains in this manner: "Kneel in thy closet, and with real humility and earnestness beg God that through His dear Son He will give His Holy Spirit to you to enlighten you, guide you, and give you understanding; as thou seest that David in the 119th Psalm continually begs: *Teach me, Lord; show me; guide me; instruct me*; and the like. Even though he had the text of Moses, and well knew other books and daily heard and read them, yet did he wish to have the real Master of the Scripture also that he might not be left to his own reason and be his own teacher."

Commenting upon *Tentatio*, he says: "As soon as God's Word has free course through thee, Satan will visit thee to make a real doctor of thee, and by means of temptation to teach thee to seek and to love the Word of God."

Luther explains *Meditatio* thus: "Not only in the heart, but externally to study and analyze the spoken and the written Word, to read it and read it again, with diligent attention and reflection in order to discover the meaning of the Holy Ghost in it."

This is truly a mystical "ladder" suggested by Luther for the approach to God.

e. Self-abnegation.

A trait characteristic of Luther's mysticism is that of self-surrender even to the point of self-abnegation; an approach to

³⁸ Morris, p. 128.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 129.

⁴⁰ Gerberding, *The Lutheran Pastor*, p. 200.

"the Augustinian feeling of human nothingness." Luther advises believers to "lower and despise" themselves.⁴¹ He refers to himself as "a poor offensive worm of the dust."⁴² He suggests to believers: "despair not of God's grace but of your own unworthiness."⁴³ "There is nothing but demerit and unworthiness on your side."⁴⁴ How like the message of the *Theologia Germanica* is the following: "Behold, here is the beginning of your salvation; you relinquish your works and despair of yourself; because you hear and see that all you do is sin and amounts to nothing."⁴⁵

The feeling of "human-nothingness: extends to despair: Despair follows when man becomes conscious of his evil motives, and realizes that it is impossible for him to love the law of God, finding nothing good in himself."⁴⁶

This spirit of self-abnegation implies humility: "Therefore man must humble himself, and confess that he is lost and that all his works are sins, aye, that his whole life is sinful."⁴⁷

This sense of human depravity is gained through faith: "For faith immediately teaches that everything human is nothing before God. Hence they despise self and think nothing of themselves."⁴⁸

It is through self-surrender and self-abnegation that one overcomes trouble and finds peace: "They are the true and real pupils, who keep the law, who know and are conscious that they do evil, and make naught of themselves, surrender themselves, count all their works unclean in the eyes of God, and despair of goodness and all their own works. They who do this, shall have no trouble, except that they must not deceive themselves with vain fruitless thoughts and defer this matter until death; for if anyone persistently postpones until death, he will have a sad future."⁴⁹

f. Quietism.

Quietism is that form of mysticism which seeks "to attain to

41 Lenker, 10:12.

42 Ibid, 14:243.

43 Ibid, 10:22.

44 Ibid, 10:25.

45 Ibid, 10:26.

46 Ibid, 10:98.

47 Ibid, 10:132.

48 Lenker, 10:165.

49 Ibid, 11:367, 368.

a perfect repose of the soul in God. Every desire and motion of the will is to be mortified. The will of God alone is to be active."⁵⁰

The passive, inactive side of mysticism never appealed to Luther, but he sought for, and gained peace of mind and heart. This is shown in his every-day life, and in times of greatest storm and stress. He constantly felt the care of God about him, and showed his peace of soul by his indifference to worldly goods and possessions. This spirit is clearly shown in one verse of his famous "Ein Feste Burg":

"Destroy they our life,
Goods, fame, child and wife?
Let all pass amain,
They still no conquest gain,
For ours is still the Kingdom."⁵¹

Under trying circumstances we find that Luther possessed this peace of soul, and constantly felt he was doing God's will in his great reformatory efforts. Indicative of this spirit and peace of soul are his memorable words at the Diet of Worms: "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me."

Luther makes the peace of quietism the mark of true faith. This is brought out especially in a sermon upon the lesson for the First Sunday after Trinity: "Among the fruits of faith are these: peace and joy... For the fruit of faith is peace, not only that which one has outwardly, but that of which Paul speaks to the Phillipians (4, 7) saying it is peace that passeth all reason, sense, and understanding. And where this peace is, one shall not and cannot judge according to reason."⁵²

This peace is the mark of true Christians: "Thus we have the fruit whereby we know that we are true Christians. For he who has no peace in that in which the world finds nothing but unrest and is joyful in that in which in the world is nothing but gloom and sorrow is not yet a Christian, and does not yet believe...." He continues this thought in commenting upon an Easter hymn of the day, and accepts the message of the hymn by his words: "Christ will be our consolation, that we can and shall have no other consolation but Christ. He wants to be it

50 A. G. Voight, *Lutheran Cyclopedia* Article.

51 Book of Worship.

52 Lenker, 11:355.

himself and he alone, that we should cling to him in every time of need; for he has conquered all for our benefit, and by his resurrection he comforts all troubled and sad hearts."

g. Imitation of Christ.

The imitation of Christ has been a favorite discipline and theme of mystics. In fact, the work of Thomas a Kempis bearing this title has been termed the "finest flower of Christian mysticism." Luther mentions that he studied Thomas a Kempis, and his influence is seen in Luther's writings. He writes, Christ "is the sun and is set for our example, which we must imitate. For this reason there will always be found among us some who are weak, others that are strong, and again some that are stronger; these are able to suffer less, those more; and so they must all continue in the imitation of Christ."⁵³

This is also brought out in his sermon for the First Sunday after Easter: "The Lord desires to say: You have received enough from me, peace and joy, and all you should have; for your person you need nothing more. Therefore labor now and follow my example, as I have done, so do ye. My Father sent Me into the world for your sake, that I might serve you, not for My own benefit. I have finished the work, have died for you, and given all that I am and have; remember and do ye likewise, that henceforth ye may only serve and help everybody, otherwise ye would have nothing to do on earth."⁵⁴

h. Interpretation of Scripture.

In his interpretation of Scripture Luther followed to a great extent, especially in his early life and work, mystical lines of explanation. This method may be defined as one that seeks for a meaning "which is not immediately signified by the inspired words." In using this method Luther was following a method that had been in common use previous to and during the time of the Reformation, and is found at the present time.

In his *Annotations Upon the Psalter* he followed the traditional method of the old school of theologians and looks for a three-fold sense in Scripture, the allegorical, the tropological, the mystical. In his interpretations of the Psalms he constantly seeks for, and diverges from the literal meaning to find "declarations of Christ concerning Himself."

⁵³ Lenker, 11:212.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 11:359.

The same is true in his *Church Postil*, his sermons on the pericopes for the Church Year. Here he does not follow a scheme of interpretation of the Psalms, but adds to a literal explanation of the text a "spiritual meaning" of the passage. In beginning his interpretation of the lesson for the First Sunday in Advent, he writes: "Let us now treat of its hidden or spiritual meaning." Similarly, in opening the explanation of the lesson for the Second Sunday in Advent, he writes, "Finally, we must find also a hidden or spiritual meaning in this Gospel."

As an example of his mystical interpretation we give his interpretation of Matthew 21:8, which reads, "And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way."

In explaining this, Luther writes: "The garments are the examples of the patriarchs and the prophets, and the histories of the Old Testament. For, as we shall learn, the multitude that went before, signifies the saints before the birth of Christ, by whom the sermon in the New Testament and the way of faith are beautifully adorned and honored. Paul does likewise when he cites Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; and Peter cites Sarah, and, in Heb. 11, many patriarchs are named as examples, and by these are confirmed faith and the works of faith in a masterly way. The branches mean the sayings of the prophets, one of which is mentioned in this Gospel, which are not stories nor examples but the prophecy of God. The trees are the books of the prophets. Those who preach from these cut branches and spread them in the way of Christian faith."⁵⁵

B. Formal Doctrines.

a. Conception of God.

Luther's conception of God was influenced by mysticism. This influence is seen in the following: "But the God who does have a meaning for us is the one whom the Scriptures show us as our God, for He gives us His presence, light and law, and talks with us."⁵⁶

Again, "Since heaven is his throne, so does he extend far over the heavens; and since the earth is His footstool, so must

⁵⁵ Lenker, 10:54.

⁵⁶ Walch 1:2324. Quoted by Walcot, *Lutheran and Kantian Elements in Ritschl's Conception of God*, p. 8.

He also be in the entire world. He fills everything and must be everywhere present."⁵⁷

The entire doctrine of the Trinity is deeply mystical; teaching the oneness in essence of the three Persons. Luther found evidence of the Trinity in nature. The following involves both symbolism and natural mysticism: "The Trinity is discoverable throughout all creation. In the sun co-exist body, brilliancy, and heat; in rivers, body, current, and strength; the same is true of the arts, and sciences. In astronomy there are motion, light, and influence; in music, the three notes, *re mi, fa*; and so on. The schoolmen have neglected these important signs for frivolities."⁵⁸

b. The Holy Spirit.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit wherever found is mystical. It constantly implies "divine intervention." Luther depended upon the Holy Spirit to make clear the meaning of the Scripture. In addition to this thought he taught that the Spirit attests truth, leads men to action, applies the law, awakens faith, and dwells in the believer. In study and meditation he suggests that "the presence of the Holy Spirit" be sought. Luther conceived the Church as being comprised of believers who "have with them the Holy Spirit who sanctifies them and works in them by the Word and sacraments."⁵⁹

c. The Scriptures.

Besides a tendency towards the mystical interpretation of the Scriptures, Luther displayed a mystical trait in his general view of the Scriptures; as to its value and use to the believer. Characteristic of his warm religious views is the following: "As the meadow is to the cow, the house to the man, the nest to the bird, the rock to the chamois, and the stream to the fish, so is the Holy Scriptures to the believing soul."⁶⁰

Luther found God in the Scriptures. The Word came as spiritual food and nourishment to the soul of the believer. He writes: "We see that in all things it is not the food, but the Word of God that nourishes every human being."⁶¹

57 Ibid, p. 6.

58 Michelet, p. 268.

59 Lenker, 14:249.

60 Lindsay, Vol. I, p. 211.

61 Lenker, 11:140.

d. The Church.

The Church to Luther was a mystical body. Each believer was united to Christ; and thus they were united one to another, by all being united to one common Head. In partaking of the same sacraments, mystical in their character, the members become a "community of saints." In a sermon for the "Second Christmas Day" he writes: "Now the Church is not wood and stone, but the company of believing people; one must hold to them and see how they believe, live and teach; they surely have Christ in their midst."⁶²

e. Justification by Faith.

Luther's "basal principle was ever justification by faith in Christ, as set forth by Paul and experienced by himself."⁶³ While he held justification to be a forensic act upon the part of God, yet the believer was to experience it; and was to feel that he stood justified in the eyes of God. This justification the believer appropriated through faith, which is a mystical relationship. Faith is the hand by which the believer reaches out and takes hold of justification.

f. Baptism.

Using the word "symbol" in the sense of "something which, in being what it is, is a sign and vehicle of something higher and better," Inge classifies the two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist, as truly mystical symbols. "Both are symbols of the mystical union between the Christian and the ascended Lord."⁶⁴ In this sense and even in a deeper sense these sacraments had a mystical content in the view of Luther.

The simplest statement from Luther bearing upon Baptism is from his *Smaller Catechism*: "Baptism is not simply water, but it is the water comprehended in God's command and connected with God's Word."⁶⁵

In the view of Luther the benefits of Baptism also reveal its mystical character: "It worketh forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and confers everlasting salvation on all who believe as the Word and promise of God declare."⁶⁶

⁶² Lenker, 10:170.

⁶³ Koestlin, *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁶⁴ Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 256.

⁶⁵ *Book of Concord*, p. 370.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

In explaining how baptism produces these effects, Luther writes: "It is not the water indeed that produces these effects, but the Word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water, and our faith, which relies on the Word of God connected with the water. For the water without the Word of God, is simply water, and no baptism. But when connected with the Word of God, it is baptism; that is, a precious water of life and a 'washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost.'"⁶⁷

The same thought is emphasized in his *Larger Catechism*. He insists that Baptism is more than water. "The substantial part in the water is God's Word, or command, and God's name."⁶⁸ A sacrament receives its validity by its connection with the Word: "When the Word is joined to the element, or earthly constituent, the result is a sacrament, that is, a holy divine thing, and sign."⁶⁹ "Therefore, I admonish that these two, the Word and the water, be by no means disunited and considered separately. For when the Word is taken away the water is no different from that which the servant uses for cooking purposes; baptism under that condition might be called a bath-keeper's baptism. But when the Word is present according to God's ordinance, baptism is a sacrament and it is called Christ's sacrament."⁷⁰

Baptism brings about a changed and renewed life. "Grace and righteousness are first *imparted* at Baptism."⁷¹ "It is then necessarily true that as one comes from his baptism he is clean and without sin, perfectly sinless."⁷²

The presence of God in baptism, Luther teaches in these words: "To be baptized into God's name is to be baptized, not by man, but by God."⁷³

The height of mysticism in Baptism is seen in the thought of union with God. Luther recognizes this union and the high position it holds in the interpretation of the doctrine of baptism, in the following: "Now, we come to the correct understanding and conception of Baptism. The benefit of the sacrament of baptism is this, that therein God unites Himself with

67 Book of Concord, p. 371.

68 Lenker, 24:160.

69 Ibid, 24:161.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid, 24:313.

72 Ibid, 24:316.

73 Ibid, 24:159.

you and he becomes one with you in a gracious, comforting covenant."⁷⁴

g. Lord's Supper.

The mystic Meister Eckhart, speaking of the Lord's Supper, said, "I would never desire to eat and drink thereof, if there were not something of God in it."⁷⁵ Luther's doctrine of the "Real Presence" implies this same thought. In his *Smaller Catechism*, Luther defines the Eucharist as "the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, given unto us Christians to eat and to drink, as it was instituted by Christ Himself."⁷⁶ Similar to this is the explanation in the *Larger Catechism*, "it is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under the bread and wine which Christians are commanded by the Word of Christ to eat and to drink."⁷⁷

Baptism remains the initiatory Sacrament, the Lord's Supper is the food and nourishment for the soul, therefore the believer receives it occasionally.

Luther explained the presence of Christ in the Supper by saying, that Christ was "in, with, and under" the Bread and the Wine. In defense of his view he writes in his *Greater Confession*: "If the text was, *In* the bread is the body, or *With* the bread, or *Under* the bread, then would the fanatics have cried, See, Christ does not say 'The bread is My body, but *In* the bread is My body.' Gladly would we believe a true presence, if He had only said 'This is My body.' That would be clear; but He only says, '*In* the bread, *with* the bread, *under* the bread, is My body.' It consequently does not follow that His body is there. If Christ had said, *In* the bread is My body, they could more plausibly have said, Christ is in the bread spiritually, or by significance. For if they can find a figure in the words, This is My body, much more could they find it in the other words, *In* the bread is My body: for it is a clearer and simpler utterance to say, This is my body than to say *In* this is my body."⁷⁸

Luther's view found expression in a practical and popular way in his sermons. He writes of "having received the Lord and all that he is in the Lord's Supper."⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Lenker, 24:318.

⁷⁵ Remensnyder, *Mysticism*, p. 18.

⁷⁶ Book of Concord, p. 375.

⁷⁷ Lenker, 24:175.

⁷⁸ Krauth, *Conservative Reformation*, p. 819.

⁷⁹ Lenker, 11:211.

In a sermon on the Lord's Supper he echoes the teachings found in the catechisms, "We believe that the true body and blood of Christ is under the bread and wine, even as it is."⁸⁰

h. The Mystical Union.

The mystical union is that doctrine which teaches "that in Christ the very life of God has been given to man, and that those who truly receive that life are really and truly united with God."⁸¹ This teaching is found throughout the writings of Luther. He taught "the indwelling of Christ." The mystical union is closely associated with Luther's view of faith. It is through faith that the mystical union is realized. "This faith no condemned or wicked man has, nor can he have it, for the right ground of salvation which unites Christ and the believing heart is that they have all things in common."⁸²

Again, this union is taught by Luther in these words: "Therefore, it is through faith that Christ becomes our own, and his love is the cause that we are His. He loves, we believe, thus both are united into one."⁸³ "Faith in Christ makes us one with Christ and gives us for our own all that is Christ's."⁸⁴

Among the most mystical of Luther's writings and the one that bears out this teaching of the mystical union is "*The Freedom of a Christian Man*."⁸⁵ This was one of the three works of Luther that opened the way for the Reformation. According to Köhde, this work is "perhaps the most beautiful of Luther's writings, more the result of religious contemplation than theological work, a writing full of deep mystical thoughts, which, notwithstanding its peculiar reverence to the real relations of life, ever recurs to the world of thought of the mystic."⁸⁶

A characteristic teaching of this work is: "The third incomparable grace of faith is this, that it unites the soul to Christ, as the wife to the husband; by which mystery, as the Apostle teaches, Christ and the soul are made one flesh. Now if they are one flesh, and if a true marriage—nay, by far the most perfect of all marriages—is accomplished between them (for human

80 Lenker, 11:213.

81 Lutheran Encyclopedia.

82 Lenker, 10:143.

83 Lenker, 10:145.

84 Lenker, 10:147.

85 Wace and Buchelm, *Luther's Primary Works*.

86 Quoted by Jacobs, *Martin Luther*, p. 165.

marriages are but feeble types of this one great marriage), then it follows that they have become theirs in common, as well good things as evil things; so that whatsoever Christ possesses, that the believing soul may take to itself and boast of as its own, and whatever belongs to the soul, that Christ claims as His.⁸⁷

The thoughts expressed by Luther in this early work, are reflected in his later writings. In a sermon for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, he writes: "It must indeed be a great, fathomless and inexpressible love of God to us, that the divine nature unites thus with us and sinks itself into our flesh and blood, so that God's Son truly becomes one flesh and one body with us, and so lovingly receives us that He is not only willing to be our brother, but also our bridegroom, and turns to us and gives us as our own all His divine treasures, wisdom, righteousness, life, strength, power, so that in Him we should also be partakers, of His divine nature."⁸⁸

He, again, carries out the idea that this union is similar to a marriage, in these words: "The union and the marriage are accomplished by faith, so that I fully and freely rely upon Him, that He is mine. . . . This is a marriage and a union in the sense that they become one flesh."⁸⁹

The mystical union is a fruit of the resurrection of Christ: "My Lord Christ has by His resurrection conquered my need, my sin, death and all evil, and will be thus with and in me."⁹⁰ Luther's admiration for and harmony with the mysticism of St. Paul, on the thought of the mystical union is seen in the following: "Just as we interpret the words of Christ, when He says: 'I am the life,' so also should we interpret these words, and say nothing philosophically of the life of the creatures in God; but on the contrary, we should consider how God lives in us, and makes us partakers of His life, so that we live through Him, of and in Him. For it cannot be denied that through Him natural life also exists, which even believers have from Him, as St. Paul says: 'In Him we live, and move, and have our being; for we are also His offspring.'"⁹¹

87 Wace and Bucheim, Luther's Primary Works, p. 111.

88 Lenker, 14:239.

89 Lenker, 14:232.

90 Lenker, 11:357.

91 Lenker, 10:188.

III. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LUTHER'S MYSTICISM.

1. Union with God.

Luther's experience of union with God was not the experience of the supreme mystical state of ecstasy. His sense of union is not characterized by transiency. Prof. Geo. A. Coe quotes Brother Lawrence, a Carmelite Monk, as follows: "It was a great delusion to think that the time of prayer ought to differ from other times; that we are as strictly obliged to adhere to God by action in the time of action, as by prayer in the time of prayer."⁹² This latter expresses the spirit of Luther's sense of union with God.

An element of transiency is found in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Christ comes to the believer in an especial manner upon each partaking of the Lord's Supper.

However, in his theological conceptions of faith, mystical union, and other doctrines, Luther thought of this union as perpetual.

2. Search for peace.

Luther entered the monastery and was faithful in the performance of its disciplines in the hope that he might find peace for his mind and soul. He first found this peace upon such occasions as when the truth of "the forgiveness of sins," and "the just shall live by faith" came upon him. It was in these mystical states of consciousness that new light and peace broke in upon him.

Meditation and prayer played a great part in bringing "mental peace" and "intellectual unity."

3. Assurance.

Closely associated with the search for peace is the desire for "assurance" of the forgiveness of one's sins and of one's acceptance with God. Luther taught that although 'assurance' may not always be felt yet it *should* be felt. Köstlin writes: "Luther is horrified that the Pope 'should have entirely prohibited the certainty and assurance of divine grace.'"⁹³

Luther's position is summed up in the following: "I am particularly to be certain that the word of absolution, which pledges forgiveness to me individually, is the Word of God, I am to be

⁹² Coe, *The Religion of a Mature Mind*, p. 225.

⁹³ Köstlin, *Theology of Luther*, vol. II, p. 462.

fully assured that since I am now in Christ and cleansed from sin by faith my life is also pleasing to God."⁹⁴

4. Inner Witness.

Luther constantly sought the inner "witness of the spirit." One is to be inwardly prepared by the influence of the Holy Spirit. Then, too, the spirit within us should bear out the truth of the Scriptures and God's message to us. "Faith is also based on the inner witness which the spirit of God bears to believers in the right use of the Scriptures, not merely as regards its authority but also its content, so that he considered himself permitted to distinguish the higher character and value of individual books included in the Bible."⁹⁵

In this connection it should be said that Luther did not do away with the external Word nor did he exalt the inner word above the Scriptures as the extreme mystics did; but he occasionally declared, "In the same Word comes the Spirit and gives faith where and to whom He will."⁹⁶ It was through the Spirit that each believer was able "to realize *within himself* that it (the Word) is truth."⁹⁷

Again, he writes, "The Word, of itself, must satisfy the heart, must so enclose and lay hold upon the man, that he, though en-
 snared in it, feels how true and right it is."⁹⁸

In a sermon on the "Method and Fruits of Justification," Luther brings out clearly the thought of inner witness: "Christians may perceive by this whether they have in themselves the Holy Spirit, to wit, the Spirit of sons; whether they hear His voice in their hearts: for Paul saith, He crieth in their hearts which He possesseth, Abba, Father; he saith also, 'We have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.' Thou hearest this voice when thou findest so much faith in thyself that thou dost assuredly without doubting, presume that not only thy sins are forgiven, but also that thou art the beloved Son of God, who, being certain of eternal salvation, durst, both call Him Father, and be delighted in Him with a joyful and confident heart."⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Köstlin, *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁹⁶ Köstlin, *Theology of Luther*, 1:500.

⁹⁷ Ibid., II:226.

⁹⁸ Ibid., II:227.

⁹⁹ *World's Great Sermons*, vol. I, p. 139.

5. Sense of Presence.

Throughout his life Luther experienced the presence of the Unseen. He was governed by the impulse that God was with him and that he was doing God's will. This sense of presence gave him inspiration and courage for his work, and confidence in his final victory. In times of storm and stress he was especially confident of the presence of the Divine. He faced conference and Diet fearlessly in the light of this experience.

6. Experience.

Religious experience was a dominating thought in the life of Luther. His conversion was a personal, real experience. He came to a knowledge of the foremost tenets of his theology by "experience." His religious experience was a warm, vital, living part of his daily life. These experiences worked in two ways: an experience led him to a doctrine; or a teaching led him to an experience.

7. Pantheism.

Many mystics have taught a pantheism in their conception of God and the universe. But a pantheistic view of God is not essential to mysticism. Professor Everett suggests that pantheism differs from mysticism in that the former conceives God as immanent, and the latter conceives God as both immanent and transcendent.¹⁰⁰ There is very little evidence in Luther's theology of a pantheistic tendency. Walcott suggests that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper savors of pantheism.¹⁰¹ Luther thought of God as both immanent and transcendent.

IV. PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION.

1. Factors contributing to Luther's mysticism.

a. Temperament.

By heredity, Luther had a tendency toward subjective-mindedness. This is characteristic of mystics. Prof. Leuba describes it as "the preponderance in their consciousness of the sensations, ideas, and feelings of subjective origin, to the detriment of the sensations, ideas, and feelings determined more or less directly by, or referring to the outside world."¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Everett: *Psychological Elements of Religious Faith*.

¹⁰¹ Walcott: *Kantian Lutheran and Elements in Ritschl's Conception of God*.

¹⁰² Leuba: *The Psychology of a Group of Christian Mystics*. *Mind*, 14:15.

As a youth Luther was serious minded. "He had been piously trained, and religion was very real to him. His imagination was peopled with angels and demons, and his life was lived in constant dependence upon the aid and protection of saints. He was emotional by temperament, subject to fits of depression, and exposed to attacks of anxiety and dread as to his fate which at times almost drove him wild. Even as a child he was frequently distressed by his sins and terrified by the fear of eternal punishment."¹⁰³ In early life he was haunted by "inner voices." He constantly had an alarmed conscience. The speculative talent was strong in him. These characteristics of youth influenced the entire life of the reformer and prepared him for a mystical theology

Ribot mentions Luther as an example of his classification of "sensitive-actives."¹⁰⁴

b. Sensitiveness.

In addition to the general suggestions under the topic of temperament a special characteristic of Luther's nature was his sensitiveness, a "delicacy of appreciation."¹⁰⁵ This is seen in some features of his natural mysticism.

He writes: "I lately saw two signs in the heavens. I looked from my window in the middle of the night, and saw the stars and all the majestic vault of God sustaining itself, without my being able to perceive the pillars on which the Creator had propped it. Nevertheless, it crumbled not away. There are those who search for these pillars and who would fain touch them with their hands; but not being able to find them, they lament and fear that the heavens will fall. They might touch them, the heavens would never be moved. Again, I saw heavy clouds floating over my head like the ocean. I saw no prop to sustain them; and still they fell not but saluted us gladly and passed on; and as they passed I distinguished an arch which upheld them,—a splendid rainbow. Slight it was without doubt, and delicate; one could not but tremble for it, under such a mass of clouds. So with us and our opponents. Our rainbow is weak; their clouds are heavy; but the end will tell the strength of the bow."¹⁰⁶

103 McGiffert, *Century Magazine*, Dec. 1910.

104 Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*.

105 Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*.

106 Clarke, *Events and Epochs in Religious History*, p. 258.

Luther constantly interpreted nature in a warm and delicate manner. He brought this spirit along with his religious experience to the translation and interpretation of the Scriptures. Dr. Gottheil, a Hebrew scholar, bears this testimony to Luther as a translator: "I have often occasion to admire his intuitive guesses at the truth, and to follow him rather than the learned commentators. He was in fullest sympathy with the writers, and understood them by touch, if I may say so, where sight forsok him."¹⁰⁷

This trait in Luther has often been commented upon as a "kind of inspiration." It was this insight that gave him the key to human nature and life problems.

His sensitiveness is seen in his love for music. He often said: that "whoever did not love music could not be loved by Luther." He writes: "Music is a delightful and lovely gift of God; it has so often excited and moved me, so that it quickened me to preach." He held that "music is a good antidote against temptation and evil thoughts."

Music "banishes Satan," and renders men joyful; it causee men to forget all wrath, uncharity, pride, and other vices."

c. Suggestibility.

Luther was of a highly suggestible nature. This characterized him from early youth. A striking event bearing out this point is seen in a monastery incident. "As the Gospel lesson containing the account of the man possessed of the devil (Matt. xvii) was being read in the Church at Erfurt, Luther fell down in the choir and raved like one possessed."¹⁰⁸

Similar to the choir incident, in the effect produced upon Luther, was an incident at Eisleben, which Luther describes in this manner: "When I was young, it happened, that at Eisleben, on Corpus-Christi day, I was walking with the procession, in my priest's robes, when suddenly, the sight of the Holy Sacrament, which was carried by Dr. Staupitz, so terrified me (thinking in my blindness, that it was Jesus Christ Himself the Vicar-General was carrying—that Jesus Christ in person was there before me) that a cold sweat covered my body, and I believed myself dying of terror. The procession finished I confessed to Doctor Staupitz, and related to him what had happened

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 260.

¹⁰⁸ Köstlin, *Theology of Luther*, vol. I, p. 58.

to me. He replied, 'Your thoughts are not on Christ: Christ never alarms—He comforts.' These words filled me with joy, and were a great consolation to me."¹⁰⁹

A more normal suggestibility we see in such instances where a truth comes over him with new force, as for instance, when a brother monk pointed out the words of the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," adding, "but we are not merely to believe that there is forgiveness for David or Peter; the command of God is, that we believe there is forgiveness for our own sins." This followed a conversation in which Luther was telling of his spiritual struggles. Luther then applied the message personally.

In a similar manner he faced the question "Do you, then, not know that the Lord Himself has commanded us to hope (i. e. in His forgiving grace)?" In this case it was the word 'commanded' that brought the results. He realized that he ought to believe in absolution.

Auto-suggestion is seen in his attempts to realize in his own experience truths presented to him. He constantly aimed to apply himself in a practical way the ideals that he discovered in study, and by other means.

An element of "contrary suggestion" also appears in Luther's mental frame. He was suggestible both positively and negatively. A simple case of the play of contrary suggestion is seen in an incident in the family circle. Luther was in a melancholic spirit and was in despair, feeling that God had forsaken him. His wife remarked: "No, Martin, there is no God." The suggestion awakened a lively faith in God, and drove away the melancholy.

d. The Subconscious.

The subconscious played an important part in the mysticism of Luther. The thunder-storm incident which resulted in the vow which led Luther into the monastery illustrates the subconscious activity. The thought of serving the Church lingered long in his mind, and the incident brought to a focus the under currents of his mental processes, the subconscious activities.

The message "the just shall live by faith" which came upon Luther with a suddenness and as a result of a mystical state of consciousness also demonstrates the working of the subconscious.

109 Morris, *Quaint Sayings and Doings concerning Luther.*

The message gained in the monastery came to him again and again, as for instance when in the pulpit at Wittenberg, and also when climbing the stairway at Rome.

2. Contradictory Characters.

It would be futile to attempt to harmonize the contradictions in Luther's nature. To use the phrase of Ribot there is evidence of "successive contradictory characters," in Luther.¹¹⁰ The line dividing these characters is his first conversion, which led him into the monastery. This turned all his ambitions and strength from a desire to succeed in public life (in law), to service to the Church and to devotion to the religious life. The 'second conversion' which was brought about by the message, "the just shall live by faith," changed his effort to gain peace through works to an effort to gain 'experience' and to trust for salvation and assurance through faith.

In addition to this feature of "successive contradictory characters" in Luther's nature there is evidence of "simultaneous contradictory natures." We find him one moment the joyful individual, rejoicing in religious peace and comfort, and having a deep sense of assurance; in the next he is melancholic and marked by remorse and despair. One moment he is sure that God is on his side and the next moment he feels that God has forsaken him.

On the one hand he is marked by the spirit of self-abnegation. He considers himself a 'poor worm of the dust.' But soon he recalls the great work he is engaged in and there comes upon him a sense of exaltation. He is sure that God has selected him for the particular task; and he feels inspired by God 'to reveal His will to men.'

He proclaims upon one occasion the necessity of imitating Christ; and in turn shows the spirit of independence in stating that in all things we cannot imitate Christ; and should only in those things which are especially emphasized.

He was a man of warm sympathy for his friends and bitter hatred, in some cases, for his enemies. He contended constantly that he was anxious to have peace with his enemies; but occasionally aimed at vexing them. Upon one occasion he made a special effort to appear young and well before a Papal legation.

110 Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*.

His barber said: "Dear Doctor, that will gall them." Luther replied: "For this very reason I am doing it. They have vexed us more than enough: serpents and foxes must be treated in this manner."¹¹¹

These, and like contradictions appear throughout the entire life of Luther. In some cases they can be explained upon apparent reasons; in others they seem irreconcilable. These seeming contradictions in milder form gave poise and balance to Luther's nature; in their extreme form they prove unfavorable.

3. Activity.

Linked with Luther's sensitiveness was a high degree of activity. His sensitive nature shunned passiveness and contemplation for a life of action. Herein he differed from the extreme mystic. In 1516, he said to Lang: "I have full employment for two secretaries. I do scarcely anything all day but write letters. I am preacher to the convent, reader of prayers at table, pastor and parish minister, director of studies, vicar of priory (that is to say, prior ten times over), inspector of the fish-pond at Litzkau, counsel to the inns of Herzberg at Torgau, lecturer on St. Paul and commentator on the Psalms."¹¹²

The activity of Luther is seen in many lines. In the Reformation movement he stands out as the leading figure and moving force. D'Aubinge says: "The Reformation sprang living from his own heart." Many prepared the way for the Reformation and many in the time of Luther were ready for the step but only Luther was prepared in heart and mind to make the step. He fearlessly nailed his Ninety-Five Theses upon the Church door at Wittenberg and just as fearlessly burned the Bull of the Pope. In the face of opposition and contrary to the advice of friends he carried on his work. "Protestantism and Martin Luther are synonymous terms," writes Forthingham.

Luther was a voluminous writer. We have about one hundred and thirteen volumes from his pen. It was the effort of his pen that had a great influence in the Reformation movement. His commentaries are used to this day. Delitzsch writes: "In respect to experimental, mystical, and yet healthy knowledge of the meaning of Scripture, he is incomparable."

His writings furthered the Reformation, not only in Germany

¹¹¹ Morris: *Quaint Sayings and Doings Concerning Luther.*

¹¹² Morris, p. 44.

but in other lands. An instance of the effect of Luther's writings is seen in the words of John Wesley: "In the evening, I went unwillingly to a society (the Moravians) in Aldersgate where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Early in his work, Luther saw the need of education upon the part of all classes. He advocated the founding of public schools and urged parents to attend to the education of their children. In 1524 Luther addressed a "Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in behalf of Christian Schools." Among other things he wrote: "the welfare of a city does not consist alone in great treasures, firm walls, beautiful houses, and munitions of war.... But the highest welfare, safety and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure and advantage."¹¹³

Luther's catechisms were prepared in the light of the need of religious education of both young and old.

Hurst sums up the influence of Luther upon education in the following: "Public schools, though crude at first, were introduced into Germany directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools between the primary and the highest education were soon established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its origin to the period of the Reformation."¹¹⁴

Closely associated with the idea of popular education is that of the public library. Having written a library of one hundred and thirteen volumes, we find Luther urging the founding of public libraries. D'Aubinge writes: "Luther's attention was not limited to the education of ecclesiastics—he was desirous that learning should no longer be confined to the Church alone; and proposed to extend it to the laity, who had hitherto been barred from it. He suggested the establishment of libraries,

¹¹³ Quoted in *Lutheran Literature*, vol. i, No. 3, p. 59.

¹¹⁴ Quoted in *A Miracle among Men*, p. 8, by M. L. Peter.

not limited merely to works and commentaries of scholastic divines and Fathers of the Church but furnished with the productions of orators, and poets, even though heathens, as also with books of literature, law, medicine, and history."¹¹⁵

Luther's interest was not confined to the homeland. His interest included all nations. He was anxious that lands beyond Germany should enjoy the fruits of his movement. "Luther seizes every opportunity offered by a text of the Divine Word in order to remind believers of the distress of the Heathen and the Turk' and earnestly urges them to pray in their behalf, and to send missionaries to them."¹¹⁶

His contribution to language and literature was also important. He gave form to the German language. Heine writes: "He translated the Bible from a language which had ceased to exist, into one which had not yet arrived. . . . Our dear master's thoughts had not only wings but hands; his faults have been more useful to us than the virtues of better men; how Luther got the language into which he translated the Bible is to this hour, incomprehensible to me."

In like manner he left his impress upon poetry and music. Luther himself was no mean poet and hymnist. He translated and remodeled Latin hymns and also sung his own German compositions, which he set to music. He was often spoken of as "the Wittenberg Nightingale." His "Ein Feste Burg" is sung in many languages. His hymns had a great power in his work. The Jesuit Adam Contzen says "the hymns of Luther have ruined more souls than all his writings and sermons."

From a popular point of view, no result of Luther's work stands out so prominently as modern civil and religious liberty. Frederick the Great wrote: "Had Luther done nothing else but liberate the princes and the people from the servile bondage under which the dominion of the Roman papacy held them, he would deserve to have a monument erected as the Liberator of his country."

His stand for freedom of thought at Worms and also his fearless ignoring of the Papal Bull were steps towards modern religious and civil freedom.

His activity involved the idea of courage. This rests back

¹¹⁵ Peter, p. 11.

¹¹⁶ Schaff-Herzog.

upon his practical mysticism, "the ordering of the life of an individual upon the basis of the sensation of some form of immediate communion with God."¹¹⁷ It was such a sense of personal communion with God and sense of guidance that lead Luther in his work. He writes: "God does not conduct, but drives me, and carries me forward. I am not master of my own actions.. I would gladly live in peace, but I am cast into the midst of tumult and changes."¹¹⁸

It was this consciousness of guidance that established his confidence in God. In going up to the Diet of Worms he was cautioned, "There are plenty of cardinals and bishops at Worms. You will be burnt alive, and your body reduced to ashes, as they did with John Huss." To this Luther replied: "Though they should enkindle a fire, whose flames should reach from Worms to Wittenberg, and rise up to heaven, I would go through it in the name of the Lord, and stand before them. I would enter the jaws of the behemoth, break his teeth, and confess the Lord Jesus Christ."¹¹⁹

V. SUMMARY.

By heredity, temperament, environment, and education, Luther was destined to develop a mystical element in his nature. This element is seen in his views of nature, his life experiences, and his formal theological teachings.

Luther's mysticism did not lead him into extremes, in fact he had difficulties with the fanatics and extreme mystics. He did not exalt feeling at the expense of the reason and the will. His active life is an evidence that his mysticism did not lead him into inactive contemplation, rather, was it an impelling force in his life.

Armstrong writes: "Mysticism is a subordinate trait in his character, if not as some would have it the mainspring of his religious experience. The movement, also, which Luther heads, in spite of its divergence from the ancient forms, is aglow with fervor, pulsating under the influence of a deep spiritual life."¹²⁰

North Liberty, Iowa.

117 Royce, *Studies in Good and Evil*. Meister Eckhart.

118 Morris, p. 53.

119 Ibid.

120 Armstrong: *Transitional Eras in Thought*, p. 61.

ARTICLE IV.

THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST.¹

BY PROFESSOR LUDWIG IHMELS.

The Christian religion claims to announce a unique message of glad tidings. That Christianity makes this claim will certainly not be denied anywhere in the confused labyrinth of present-day opinions. Whether this unique claim is justified or not is a question which calls forth warm discussion even among those who call themselves Christians. Some deny the general claim that religion contains the *summum bonum* of the human race. Others deny that the Christian religion in particular possesses this *summum bonum* in its most complete form. Among the latter there are two classes. The one class expect to reach the religious ideal by a comparison of religions past and present. The other class expect that the historical development of the future will bring forth this ideal by virtue of an inner necessity. But the vast majority seek to construct their own religion whether for good or for evil. It may therefore easily occur to the humble individual who has a living part in the present to ask himself whether this unique claim of historical Christianity can still be justified and maintained. Is it really worth while even to-day yet to devote a whole life to the Gospel as historical Christianity has proclaimed it?

This is the question which we shall seek to answer in this article. But first we shall have to determine what to regard as the real content of the Gospel which historical Christianity has proclaimed. One might think indeed that after two thousand years of Christian history there could no longer be any question

¹ Translated from the German by Professor Abdel Ross Wentz. This brochure is the second number of the seventh series of *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* published by Edwin Runge in Gr. Lichterfelde, Berlin. Each series of these popular booklets includes twelve numbers and costs M. 4.80. They are edited by Professor Kropatscheck of Breslau and embrace contributions from the pens of a large number of positive German theologians. They aim to inform all classes of intelligent people on all subjects of religious and theological bearing.

In this essay Professor Ihmels has presented as briefly and popularly as possible the case for the Gospel of the old faith which believes in the deity of Jesus Christ as over against those who teach that Christ's Gospel was not the Gospel of Christ. For a brief statement of Professor Ihmels's theological method see the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. XL, No. 3, pp. 392 sqq.

on this point. As a matter of fact, however, this problem receives to-day the most widely divergent variety of answers. We cannot here even attempt to sketch the manifold differences in the understanding of the Gospel. But there is one question which we cannot pass by unnoticed. It is fundamental and decisive. And that is the problem whether the rightful Gospel of the Church of Jesus is merely the Gospel which Jesus proclaimed or is it also the Gospel of the Person of Jesus Christ? If the question concerning the absolute character of the Christian religion be regarded as the chief religious problem of the present day, we may say that this problem just mentioned is the chief problem to-day within the Christian Church. All the points of difference at issue among those who still hold to the Church of Christ may in the final analysis be reduced to this one, whether Jesus is the subject or the object of His Gospel.

Concerning the answer of the Church there can be no doubt on this point. The Gospel which she has proclaimed has always been the glad tidings of Christ's Person. Of course these tidings she also claims to have *from* Jesus. And as soon as the Church ceases to regard Jesus as the *source* of the Gospel her judgment is pronounced. But He is not only the source of the Church's proclamation but His Person is also the central content of that Gospel as Jesus Himself willed and as the apostles announced in his name. Jesus Christ is the Gospel. Nevertheless, for wide circles of Christians the two ideas, Jesus as source and Jesus as content of the Gospel, are mutually exclusive of each other. The effort is made to retain the Gospel of Jesus, but Jesus Himself is not to have any place in that Gospel. Jesus, it is claimed, never wished to include His own Person in His Gospel, but the proclamation of later generations did Him the injustice of placing Him in His message. Protest is made in the name of religion against making of the Christian faith a faith in Jesus Christ.

In the name of religion,—I have used the phrase to express the awful seriousness of the entire question. For this is by no means a historical question. It is really of the gravest import for practical Christian piety. This is manifest even from the method of procedure employed by the opponents to the Church's conception of the Gospel. They very seldom treat the subject in its historical aspect but almost always from a purely religious

point of view. And it is even made to appear as if the rejection of faith in Christ's Person serves the interest of genuine piety and furthers the progress of Christian consciousness.

For example, attention is sometimes called to the undeniable fact that religion can only be a present and immanent relation of fellowship with God. The only matter of importance in my religion is that I have God or rather that God have me, and that now. But is not this simple relationship involved in danger when a certain group of historical facts or a historical personality is made the decisive factor in religion? To have religion is to have God. Why then should faith in Jesus Christ be interposed between the believer and his God? Will not the faith in Jesus Christ of necessity exclude the faith in God, or at least make the way to God cumbersome and circuitous? Is it not indeed necessary from the very nature of the case that the very essence of evangelical faith is endangered when historical facts are imported to constitute its kernel? Faith, in the evangelical sense of the term, can only mean implicit confidence in God. But if the facts of history are made to constitute its content does not faith of necessity resolve itself again into outward intellectual assent?

We may give the question still a slightly different turn and thus indicate its awful seriousness. Genuine religion is a simple somewhat. Be it understood, religion is not a matter of course; it is just the opposite of that. But it is a plain and simple entity, accessible to all and comprehensible in all its seriousness. The more we complicate religion, the more we endanger its seriousness. Why then should we try to confuse the simple fact that religion has to do with only two entities and their mutual relations: God and man, man and God? What are we profitted by interposing any historical facts whatever, even the so-called facts of redemption? Some, it is claimed, take up their abode on these facts, fight for them, demand that men "believe" them, and thereby they forget the real earnestness of religion. Others use this demand of "belief" in historical facts as an argument against the possibility of religion for a thinking personality. And still others, the best of all, believe the facts to their own destruction because they never reach the redeeming thought that religion has only to do with the immanent experience of the divine. These arguments are made in the name of religion.

It is evident that we do not intend to veil anything here. On the contrary we wish to give frank and open expression to thoughts with which many are busied to-day and which everyone may at some time or other find more or less perplexing. In this way alone we may hope for an understanding of the sense and propriety of the Church's Gospel proclamation. As a matter of fact it would be difficult to reckon the consequence to the Church and her Gospel if she had no answer to these questions which we have proposed. Can a Gospel continue to be called a Gospel if it endangers or encumbers the way to God? Indeed we might ask whether such a Gospel could substantiate its claim to be real.

Nevertheless, in the final analysis everyone will admit that general considerations can not be decisive on these points. Reality alone can make the final decision. What then is the reality involved in the Gospel as God willed it? Or is it utterly impossible to determine that? Must we be satisfied with the assertion that the answer depends upon the taste of the individual and that different individuals may with equal right answer the question quite differently? It can not be denied that many earnest Christians take this position to-day and we can readily understand how the apparent magnanimity of this attitude would seem to commend it as the way of safety in the present crisis. As a matter of fact, however, this way is utterly impossible, and it is of the utmost importance that this be made clear. A Gospel which depends upon ourselves in any way ceases to be a Gospel. The very essence of glad tidings lies in the fact that they announce a reality that can fill me with joy. The glad tidings therefore stand or fall with the reality of their content. What would we say in our daily lives concerning a message of glad tidings if it were accompanied with a postscript stating that it is questionable whether the facts are exactly as announced and that this point must finally be left to the judgment of the individual to determine? Much more may we ask, how are we to look upon a Gospel which is to constitute our inner life but which each may construct according to his taste? No, here there is an absolute alternative. Either the message of glad tidings which God has caused to be announced to us is a reality, in which case we are bound absolutely to proclamation of this reality. Or we must avoid entirely the question concerning the

reality of the Gospel proclaimed by the Church, in which case the Gospel ceases at once to be glad tidings. It is a most vital question therefore what we are to regard as the reality in the Gospel as God willed it.

There is only one way to answer this question definitely, and that is to ask for the testimony of the earliest divine witnesses to this Gospel, and finally to go back to the Lord Himself. For His authority the Church must recognize in some sense at least so long as she confesses Him and calls upon His name. Of course no one can be compelled to content himself with the Gospel which results from such an investigation as this. A person can refuse to recognize the authority of the apostles and of Jesus and can apparently justify his procedure. But then he withdraws himself entirely from the historical continuity of the Gospel. And if these authorities are completely rejected it must be regarded as utterly impossible to determine what God meant to be the content of the Gospel. But only after the divine meaning of the Gospel has been determined can the question be raised as to its reality and truth. Thus we have designated the task which we shall seek to accomplish in the following pages. In the first place we shall investigate the problem what to regard as the original Gospel as willed by the first witnesses and by the Lord Himself. And in the second place, we shall at least indicate, if only briefly, how to reach a correct understanding and conviction of the reality and truth of this Gospel.²

II.

First, then, what is that Gospel originally proclaimed in the Church which Jesus established? This question at least we can answer with complete historical certainty. Improbable as it may seem it is nevertheless a positive fact that the answer to historical questions can seldom be determined with such accuracy as in this case. We often meet with the conception, especially among the laity, that the work of Biblical criticism has re-

2. More complete and detailed development of the questions discussed here Professor Ihmels has made in the following publications from his pen: *Wer war Jesus, was wollte Jesus?* 4th ed. 1907. *Jesus und Paulus* in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1906. *Christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit*, 2nd ed. 1907. *Wie werden wir der christlichen Wahrheit gewiss?* 2nd ed. 1910. *Centralfragen der Dogmatik in der Gegenwart* 1911.

duced the New Testament to a heap of ruins with naught of positive worth. This conception is entirely false. There still remain many open questions, it is true, but in general we may say that the criticism of the last one hundred years has served to establish beyond question the trustworthiness of those New Testament writings which are especially valuable for their documentary evidence concerning the primitive Gospel. I have in mind especially the four chief letters of Paul, Romans, Galatians, and First and Second Corinthians. Their genuineness can not be seriously questioned. And even if we had nothing but these four we could with ease and certainty construct a complete portrait of the Pauline proclamation. Not only does Paul in these writings actually develop his Gospel in all its aspects, but he also gives repeated emphatic expression to those points which constitute for him the central content of the Gospel.

Let us recall the opening of the 15th chapter of First Corinthians. There has arisen in the Corinthian Church a doubt concerning the Resurrection and this leads the apostle to repeat in brief the Gospel which he had preached to them in person: Christ who died for our sins and rose again according to the Scriptures. In view of the argument which Paul here presents it is really very remarkable that it should still occasionally be considered a very complicated question what the apostle regards as the proper content of the Gospel. He says here very expressly and with all the seriousness of which this serious man is capable that his readers can be saved solely and alone through the Gospel which he has preached to them and which they still hold. Now if we may assume that the apostle was clear in his own mind as to what he wanted, there certainly can be no doubt about the central content of the Gospel as he conceived it.

Essentially the same conclusion may be gathered from what Paul says in II Cor. 5:19 sqq. concerning the content of the Word which is to be preached in the Church. He is writing here of reconciliation. This reconciliation is effected in that Him who knew no sin God made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in Him. The apostle is evidently thinking of the sentence of judgment passed upon sin in the death of Jesus.

Finally I would call attention to that part of Romans which contains such an instructive expression of the Pauline Gospel.

Here in the very disposition of the letter we see clearly what is the principal thought of Paul's evangel. In chapter 1:16, 17, the apostle expresses briefly what he considers the main idea of the Gospel, namely, the revelation of the righteousness which God works. Then from 1:18 to 3:20, he proves negatively that outside of Jesus Christ the righteousness of God cannot be attained either by Jews or by heathen. Then (3:21-26) comes the positive element. This positive element consists of the message that in Jesus Christ, that is in the redemption completed in His death, God's righteousness had actually been achieved. And again at the close of the 4th chapter (4:24 sqq.) everything is reduced to the formula that Jesus Christ died for our sins and rose again for righteousness' sake.

These brief references will serve to orientate us for the present. We have seen that there are two elements closely related to each other which receive special prominence in Paul's evangel. First, his Gospel is throughout the Gospel of Christ's Person. Jesus Christ is its sole content. To reach an unmistakable conviction of this fact we need but to read aloud the opening verses of I Corinthians. In nine verses we meet the name of Jesus nine times and twice in addition He is distinctly referred to. Secondly, with reference to the details of Christ's Person and Work special emphasis is placed upon His death and resurrection. Of course these two facts can not be isolated. There are occasional suggestions that the death of Jesus is closely connected with His life. (Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:8). And that the resurrection of Jesus must not be considered an isolated event is a matter of course with Paul. On the one hand it forms the final act in the historical redemptory work of Christ, and on the other hand it furnishes the Christian Church with the assurance that this historical Christ is also her living Lord to-day. Nevertheless the fact remains that in Paul's preaching the entire emphasis is placed upon the death and resurrection of Jesus.

Now we can understand that at this point the question might arise: Is all that really Gospel? Can it be considered a message of glad tidings that some one has died and risen again? This question is often answered to-day with a very emphatic "No." Just here, it is claimed, is the immense inferiority of Paul's Gospel as compared with the proclamation of Jesus himself. Jesus, so it is said, knew only that religion consists of man's

fellowship with God; whereas Paul resolves Christian piety into intellectual assent to historical facts, in the final analysis a faith in dogmas.

Is this charge justifiable? Does Paul need to be corrected on his conception of Christian piety? Does he really fail to see that religion consists in having God? That would be very strange for Saul already saw that very clearly. There can not be the least bit of doubt that the whole life of Saul had but one content, namely, God. He was with his whole life a searcher after God. Even the persecution of the disciples of Jesus he regarded as a divine service. Purely psychologically considered it is impossible to conceive that the entire fundamental attitude of his life towards God should have completely changed at the time of his conversion. At any rate Paul himself did not so regard the matter. He was thoroughly convinced that only in his conversion had he really found God. Nor can we say, as one of the mediators in theology has asserted, that through his faith in Jesus Christ Paul merely drew near to the God of his fathers. He himself knew very well that in his conversion he had found the very God whom he had been seeking before and whom he had thought he possessed. This is a fact we dare not lose sight of. It must be fixed clearly in mind.

To that end we must speak of that radically important experience of the apostle which became decisive for all the rest of his life. I refer of course to the days of Damascus. Here is actually the key to an understanding of the entire Pauline Gospel. Not that this Gospel is merely a deposit of the apostle's personal experience. Paul is keenly conscious of the fact that he owes his Gospel to a revelation. But this revelation would not have been possible without the days of Damascus. They were the psychological medium. If this can be made plain it will be evident at once that Paul's Gospel can not be called a dead dogma. A message that is based upon a personal experience can not possibly be barren dogma.

What then may we regard as the net result of the experience at Damascus? In its subjective aspect it meant a complete collapse of the former ideals and attainments of the apostle. Saul was already a searcher after God, as we have said. Saul knew already that a person can not enter into fellowship with God unless he be righteous in God's sight. But at the same time the Phari-

see knew of no other way to attain this righteousness than through his own works. This he considered necessary and possible. And Paul himself in reviewing his past declares that he was "blameless as touching the righteousness which is in the law" (Phil. 3:6). It may be difficult for us to conceive that such a conscientious man as Paul should not now and then have doubted whether his efforts at self-righteousness had really vindicated him before God. But one thing is certain, that the Pharisee had no other way of overcoming such doubts except to seek through new zeal to work out his righteousness before God. As long as Paul continued to hold fast to Pharisaic ideals of piety he could never be satisfied without continuously convincing himself that his good works were in the majority. This entire conception of justifying himself before God continued to rule in Paul's mind until the days of Damascus. There it suffered an utter and absolute collapse. In the first place, the persecution of the Church was seen to be an immense mistake. This persecution Saul had undertaken in God's name. It had been in a sense the very crown of his life hitherto. When this work was seen to be a mistake his entire previous calling was rendered vain, his achievements nil. The pious man who had thought to justify himself before God became the chief of sinners. Saul was involved in complete insolvency.

In fact such a violent collapse in bankruptcy can not but evoke our sincere sympathy. It is always more or less pathetic when a person of mature years is compelled to change the entire direction of his life. But we are certain in saying that history has seen few inner revolutions like that which Saul experienced in the days of Damascus. Just because his pious works had constituted the sole and only content of his former life does their collapse constitute the complete collapse of his personal life. Paul would not have survived this if he had not at the same time come into possession of a new inner content for his life. Indeed, a sharp psychological analysis would indicate that the collapse of the old is conceivable only in connection with the gaining of a new content.

But what was the new element which Paul received during these days? An easy answer seems to lie in the view that Paul too had learned to regard Jesus as the Messiah of Israel. But this includes something more. If Jesus could become the Mes-

siah for Paul it must have filled his entire messianic conception with new content. For what was it that had made it impossible for Saul to believe in Jesus as the Messiah? In the first place, apparently the fact that like the rest of his people he had positively no use for a Messiah who had died on the cross. But this forces us to ask why they could not clear away this ground of offense and accept the message of the crucified Messiah. Fortunately, we know exactly where the difficulty lay for Paul and his fellow-countrymen. Paul himself gives us this information on several occasions. For example, in his letter to the Romans (10: 3 sqq.) he declares that Israel was hindered from believing in Jesus through the circumstances that they sought to work out their own righteousness. Now if we may believe again that the apostle knew why he had rejected the Messiah, this may be regarded as his reason. This hindrance to his faith was removed, as we saw, in the days of Damascus. And for that reason the new conception of the matter must begin at this point. What was this new conception?

Let us recall what the situation of Paul was. Saul already had employed all his powers in the effort to attain the righteousness of God and he believed that he could claim the witness of a good conscience before God. This he thought was made sure by the zeal with which he persecuted the young Church of the Crucified One. But then the Persecuted One had manifested Himself to Saul as still living and that gave a new aspect to the entire subject. But deep as was the inner emotion which he had experienced, two facts remained clear as day. In the first place that he had been right in his search after the righteousness of God. The means which he had employed were not the proper ones, it is true, but the end which he had sought was entirely proper and this he continued to keep in view. But while in his former efforts he had denied the Messiahship of Jesus he has now come to a very different conviction. And this new view of Jesus' Messiahship Paul had to relate to his efforts at the righteousness of God. In the second place, it became clear to Saul in his conversation that Jesus' death on the cross had actually a divine significance. The real difficulty for the apostle was to conceive how one who had died on the accursed cross could be the Messiah of God. On this point Paul had to reach an entirely new conception. Even this death on the cross must in some way be made compatible

with the central effort of the apostle's life. This is the situation in which Paul's new understanding of the Person and Work of Jesus had its origin.

We can not stop here to investigate how much of this new conception grew out of the primitive apostolic proclamation, or out of a new understanding of Old Testament prophecy, or out of certain elements in contemporary Jewish thought. At any rate Paul felt very keenly that he had received his new understanding of Jesus by divine revelation. The solution at which he arrived was however a very simple one. He held fast to the view that the crucifixion was a curse and the crucified one accursed. But Paul had learned to add: He became a curse for us (Gal. 3:13). *Even after his conversion Paul continued to hold that Jesus in His death was a sinner, or as he says, God made Him "pure sin." But Paul understands now that this was done in order that in this Jesus Christ we might become God's righteousness (II Cor. 5:21). We may say that in these two short words "for us" lies the key to the new conception which Paul received in the days of Damascus. His view of Jesus' Person is completely changed and his ideals of piety are thoroughly made over. Indeed it may be said that in these few days the new conception of religion which is peculiar to Christianity was vividly and actually realized as never before nor since.*

And what is this new religious conception peculiar to Christianity? The crucial question in every religion is how to bring about fellowship between God and man. Even in the heathen religions there is always the idea, though sometimes very indistinct, that the worshipper must somehow draw near to God. Only two answers seem possible to this question. Either man must work his way to God, or God can of His own accord establish fellowship with man. All non-Christian religions answer this problem with the first of these two alternatives. In every heathen religion the worshipper must seek to appease the diety through his own works, through his own offerings and his own propitiations. And in the final analysis the Pharisaic piety belongs in this same category, even if there was some conception of divine grace. In the genuine religious piety of the Old Testament it is not so. The religion of the Old Testament in the final analysis rests decidedly upon God's deed. But this divine deed is conditioned upon the law, and just here is where Phari-

saism came in with its plausible claim to be the genuine representative of Old Testament religion. That this religion of the Pharisees was impossible for Paul became manifest in that experience of which we have spoken. Henceforth he knows that no man can in his own strength compel God to enter into fellowship with him. On the contrary, he experienced the exact opposite, namely, that God has Himself laid strong hand upon his life and has with might forced him to face about and to enter into fellowship with Himself. But this Paul experienced as an inner divine revelation of the Son of God (Gal. 1:15 sq.) made righteousness for him, to take the place of the righteousness which Paul had sought within himself (Phil. 3:8 sqq.) This was indeed something quite new. Henceforth Paul lived no longer in the righteousness which he himself had achieved but only in the righteousness which God had wrought out in Christ Jesus. No longer what he himself had done, but what God had done in Jesus Christ is the basis of his entire life. This becomes henceforth the current of all his preaching. His sole theme is that one's own righteousness is naught but that God has wrought out in the crucified and risen Christ the righteousness which justifies in His sight. In one word, Paul's preaching is nothing but witness to the fact that God has in Jesus Christ reconciled the world to Himself and henceforth freely offers His fellowship to all who desire it.

These paragraphs have served to show that Paul in his faith in Jesus Christ was impelled not by any lifeless dogmatic belief but by a simple unmistakable religious experience. Paul clearly and consciously experienced the irreconcilable distinction between the old and the new. In this he occupies a unique position among the apostles. He must therefore have been exceptionally clear in his own mind as to the purpose of his faith in Christ. There can not possibly therefore be any doubt as to what Paul sought and found in his faith in the Christ who died for our sins, rose again, and now intercedes for us at the right hand of God (Rom. 8:34). What he sought and found was nothing other than the assurance of fellowship with God, which raised him far above the limitations of life and brought him the completion of his personal life (Rom. 8:28-39). Everything else therefore that might be said concerning Paul's Gospel must be related to this one fact. We have already shown that Paul understood it

to mean faith in Christ. We might also show that he understood it to mean a spiritual life. The two ideas are not the same. A superficial consideration of the various passages might indeed make the impression that the two ideas run parallel and are of equal importance for Paul. As a matter of fact the line of thought which we have just followed is by far the more important of the two. What Paul meant by his spiritual life can only be understood in the light of what he says concerning faith in Christ. The life in the spirit means for Paul that constant potent nearness of God which comes alone through faith in Jesus Christ. The central content of his Christian faith is faith in Christ. In other words, it is faith in the exalted living Lord. What the Lord signifies for the faith of the Christian grows entirely out of the work of His life. In this sense, therefore, it may also be said that the death and resurrection of Christ constitute the main content of Paul's Gospel.

In his attitude towards the central facts of the Gospel Paul is thoroughly at one with the other apostles. Paul's Gospel has of course its characterizing individuality. Paul himself was keenly alive to that fact. That grows out of the fact that the former Pharisee had to have a living experience of the Gospel truth in all its consequences in order that Saul might become Paul, that the persecutor of the Church might become the great missionary apostle. That is why Paul in his preaching follows the contrast between the old and the new into its utmost consequences. That is why this new religious experience becomes the fertile source of all the rich variety of graces in the Christian life. And above all that is why the application is made so consistently to the missionary enterprise. But these peculiarities of Paul's Gospel dare not close our eyes to the fact that so far as the main content is concerned, Paul's Gospel is entirely the same as that of the other apostles.

The proofs for this statement can of course only be indicated here. In the first place, it must at least be admitted that Paul himself regarded his Gospel as in thorough harmony with that of the other apostles. He says very clearly that he has simply handed down what he himself had received (I Cor. 15:1 sqq.) And he adds the express reminder that it does not matter whether the Christians follow his preaching or that of another (v. 11). This statement of Paul is everywhere borne out by the other New

Testament writings. Wherever the plan of the Gospel is explained the central feature is the Crucified and Risen One. Now of course a strenuous effort might be made to show that the entire apostolic message has been derived directly or indirectly from Paul, but even if that were correct, the fact would still remain that we have no other Gospel than the Pauline which we have described. As a matter of fact, however, that view can not be maintained. No matter how we date the New Testament writings, no matter how great we regard the influence of Paul, we certainly can not conceive that the first witnesses of the Gospel who had lived with the Lord and had received His instructions, would have permitted the newcomer Paul to force upon them a Gospel which contradicted the main feature of their own message.

And finally we may add that Paul's writings themselves show with complete certainty that so far as the central content of the Gospel is concerned there could not have been any contradiction between Paul and the other apostles. Paul's letters give such a lively picture of the times that if any such fundamental contradiction had existed it must have been reflected in them. We learn, as a matter of fact, that Paul's Gospel had to struggle against opposition from various quarters. And it is significant that all the opposition of which we hear grows out of the consequences which Paul drew from his Gospel message. But there is not the least shadow of any indication that Paul met any opposition whatever to his message of the redemptory significance of Christ's death and resurrection. Consider, for example, such a scene as that described in Gal. 2:11 sqq. If we may assume that the apostle gives us anything like a true account of this event which must have been of decisive import for the primitive Church, then one fact is undeniable, namely, that even at the time of Paul's disagreement with Peter the two were fully agreed that we can become righteous in God's sight not by the works of the law but alone through faith in Jesus Christ. This incident clearly illuminates the harmony which existed in the primitive Church concerning the main content of the Gospel message. Paul was quite right: One Lord, one faith, one baptism (Eph. 4:5).

III.

But one serious question may arise at this point. Were the apostles right in basing their message on the authority of Jesus? What we have already said will apply with weight to this question also. For it is difficult to conceive that those whom the Lord Himself had called should have placed themselves in contradiction to His real intentions by making Him the object of their faith. In that case we should have to return to the position taken forty years ago by Legarde of Göttingen, that Jesus was unfortunate and unsuccessful in His disciples. This view would of course completely nullify the Christian's faith in God's foreknowledge and providence. At least I can not see how we could still believe in a divine guidance of the Church, if the primitive congregation which bore the name of Christ had been deceived by Christ's own disciples concerning the content of His Gospel message. Can we believe that a provident God would have permitted this falsehood to continue through all the history of the Church, only to be discovered and laid bare by our own times?

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that such a general consideration can not be finally decisive on this point. We must ask for the personal testimony of Jesus Himself. It will facilitate matters if we limit ourselves for the present to the Synoptic witness of Jesus. It is of course utterly impossible to disregard entirely the Johannean evidence concerning Jesus as wide circles to-day still continue to do with impunity. But it is our effort here to secure as broad a basis as possible for a common understanding. We can afford, therefore, to limit ourselves entirely to the Synoptics and to show what a final and decisive answer these gospels give to the question concerning Jesus' witness to His own Person.

It is undeniable that the first impression made by the Synoptics may be that the self-witness of Jesus is essentially different from the Pauline evangel, especially in its main feature. Even a superficial reading shows that Jesus did not everywhere place His own Person at the center of His Gospel at least not to the extent that Paul did. The opening of First Corinthians has no parallel in the Synoptic gospels. Is not that perhaps due, it is asked, to the fact that Jesus takes a different view of humanity

from what Paul does? Paul's entire Gospel presupposes, as we have seen, that all men have sinned and that neither Jews nor Gentiles can attain a righteousness which shall be pleasing to God (Rom. 1:18-3:20). Jesus, it is claimed, viewed the matter quite differently. Did not his ethical requirements appeal simply to man's own powers? And does He not assume even that men could be perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect? And does not that mean in the final analysis that Jesus' conception of practical piety is very different from that of Paul? With Paul redemption is entirely the work of God, grace is its sole content. Jesus, on the other hand, repeatedly urged the practice of the commandments when men asked for the way of life (Lk. 10:25 sqq.; Mk. 10:17 sqq.). Doesn't that mean that Jesus really makes man the author of his own salvation?

This is the decisive point to begin with in order to understand the relation of Paul and Jesus. If, indeed, Jesus advocated a fundamentally different view of religious piety from what Paul did, the case is decided. But every serious thinker will realize the impossibility of the idea that Jesus' reference to the demands of the law (Mk. 10:17 sqq., etc.), was intended to be His final word concerning the way of life. However that reference and similar references are to be understood, it is certainly not intended to be an account of the full way of salvation.

In the first place, if such were the case Jesus' message would cease to be a Gospel. Jesus would become merely a new preacher of the law. We might of course find one advance upon the Old Testament in the fact that Jesus deepened the ethical demands of the law and followed them into their utmost consequences. But it would be exceedingly difficult to draw the lines of distinction. Even the prophets of the Old Covenant had already in their day greatly deepened the ethical demands of the law. And Jesus Himself presupposed on the part of those who questioned Him a certain understanding of the fact that the chief requisite in fulfilling the law is love to God and love to fellowmen. Of course, the fact remains undeniable—that Jesus' Sermon on the Mount marks a distinct advance upon all previous efforts at deepening the ethical demands of the law (The Ethics of Sinai).

But the great distinction lies not in any ethical advance but in the fact that Jesus' entire system of ethics is grounded on a religious basis. That is its characteristic element. Men do not become

the children of God because they are perfect, but because the disciples of Jesus feel themselves to be the children of God they are to become perfect (Matt. 5:48). But that means that Jesus' message is by no means merely an emphasizing of the law but that it is first and foremost a message of glad tidings from the Father in heaven. In fact, if Jesus merely emphasized the demands of the law as a means of obtaining eternal life He would occupy a lower position than certain parts of the Old Testament, as has been indicated above. And all Jesus' emphasis of the law would simply have served to increase the burden which he imposed. His message would no longer be a Gospel, no longer a message of glad tidings. But even here the bold assertion has recently been made that it was only in the later course of events that Jesus' proclamation came to be changed into an evangel of good tidings. This assertion, however, has met with little favor. It would do utter violence to our sources. As Jesus began with a call to faith in the Gospel (Mk. 1:15), so His entire message was a Gospel message. We dare not therefore regard the emphasis of the law as the chief content of His preaching.

In the second place, if Jesus was only a prophet of the religion of the law how are we to explain the historical fact of His conflict with the Pharisees? There would have been no such conflict if Jesus had held and taught that men can and must work their way to God through their own efforts. Surely it will not suffice to assume that Jesus only interpreted the law differently from the Pharisees. There was indeed an immense difference in this respect, and one point, the observance of the Sabbath, was one of the chief factors in bringing the conflict to an issue. But be it remembered that even in this matter of Sabbath observance the real point at issue is not a matter of outward form. The difficulty could not have been removed by mutual concessions on the question of keeping the Sabbath. The difficulty rests upon the fact that the fundamental religious position of Jesus is radically opposed to that of the Pharisees. When Jesus made the bold statement that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath (Mk. 2:27), the Pharisees simply could not understand Him. For them the chief point in observing the Sabbath was the ceremonial performance which they offered to God. Jesus wished to represent the Sabbath as a gift from God to man. Thus the fundamental difference between the two religious sys-

tems is illustrated by this question concerning the Sabbath. The Pharisees saw that Jesus was discrediting the very basis of their religious position. How serious they considered the difference between themselves and Jesus is shown in the inimitable scorn with which they say of Jesus: This man receives sinners (Lk. 15:2). Jesus was absolutely intolerable in their sight because their entire religious system, upon which they had built a ladder to heaven was to be nullified and the sinner through grace alone draws nearer to God than they do.

In the third place, we must conclude that the Pharisees were entirely correct and consistent when they fought the entire proclamation of Jesus. It was diametrically opposed to their own system. The Sermon on the Mount, in which Jesus lays the greatest stress upon the demands of the law, begins with a series of beatitudes and those who are pronounced blessed are the very ones who can not possibly make any contribution towards their own bliss. Beggars shall inherit the Kingdom of God, and the hungry shall be satisfied with righteousness. These sentences sound like a platform and they recur again and again in Jesus' preaching and dealing with men. The Pharisee who exults in his own righteousness Jesus pictures as going home without justification in the sight of God. The publican, on the other hand, who comes to God with nothing but a sigh for mercy receives forgiveness and grace (Lk. 18:9 sqq.). Furthermore, Jesus always gathers about Him those who clearly realize that they can bring nothing to God. And whoever comes to Jesus with the burden of sin receives forgiveness in God's name (Matt. 9:2). Some are filled with wonder; others are scandalized. Jesus is surprised at both classes. What He does seems to Him such a matter of course. Do we not take it as a matter of course that the sick and not the well need the physician (Matt. 9:12)?

As a matter of fact this point has to do not merely with single details of Jesus' message but with its content in its entirety. For at the very center of the Synoptic message we find the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. This too has recently been denied. But in view of the very general agreement on this point such a denial does not call for earnest consideration. The only question is *how* the message of the Kingdom forms the central feature of the Gospels. Did Jesus' preaching only serve to illustrate the essence of the Kingdom? Certain it is that through His parables

Jesus gave some very interesting descriptions of the Kingdom of God in its various aspects. But He does more than describe the Kingdom. He is always and above all concerned about explaining how the Kingdom comes. That is striking. He makes no effort to correct the erroneous current conceptions of the essence of the Kingdom. It is evident that He expected that these false views would correct themselves if only the real kernel of His own proclamation of the Kingdom was once fully accepted. But this kernel lies in the announcement that the Kingdom is in process of being realized in His own Person (Mk. 1:15). That is the fundamentally new element that comes in Jesus' message.

Less important is the question whether Jesus understood the Kingdom of God to be essentially eschatological or whether He knew of a present kingdom. As a matter of fact both elements must enter into the answer. We can not even indicate here how the one element is to be secured through the other. For our purpose it is sufficient to note the fact that whether Jesus spoke of the Kingdom as present or future, He always regarded it as coming and this coming of the Kingdom is in every case connected with His Own Person. The Kingdom of God can never be produced or brought about by the works of men here below. It comes from above and is wrought out in history by direct divine agency. Those who would have a part in the Kingdom must therefore be content to have it given to them. That does not mean that the Kingdom can not from another point of view be the object of moral effort (Matt. 6:33) or even of serious struggle (Lk. 13:24). But the fact remains that in the final analysis the Kingdom of God must be received from without (Mk. 10:15). That is why Jesus can select the child as the example for those who would have part in the Kingdom (Matt. 18:2 sqq.). The child knows the art of opening his hand and receiving, an art which older persons learn with difficulty. For that reason the child is the master of the grown-ups: the Kingdom of God must be received.

But if the Kingdom of God is to be received from without and cannot be wrought out by man, how are we to regard Jesus' occasional references to the practice of the law as the way to life? It is evident that both of the narratives that come into consideration here (Mk. 10:17-27; Lk. 10:25 sqq.) aim to present Jesus' sayings from a pedagogical point of view. Let us try to realize

what a difficult task Jesus imposed upon Himself when He undertook to preach that salvation is entirely a gift of God. How was He to prepare the soil for such a message in such Pharisaic surroundings? Was He to depend entirely upon the formal statement of His own position? As a matter of fact no man takes it upon the mere statement of another that it is really impossible for him in his own strength even with God's help to attain eternal life. The experienced pastor, when he finds a person honestly striving to make his own way to God, will not expect to dissuade him by any argument about the futility of such strivings. In the final analysis the pastor can do no more than simply ask that the inquiring soul make the serious and earnest attempt thus to attain salvation entirely through his own efforts. What should Jesus have answered those who asked Him what they must "do" to attain eternal life? It is occasionally said that He should have told them plainly that eternal life does not come through their own "deeds." Would that have been wise? No, Jesus could do no better than to give direct answer to the question asked and at the same time try to lead the questioners to the practical task of self-correction.

This is evident in the case of the rich young man who boldly but honestly asserted that he had obeyed the entire law. Jesus tries to show him by a very simple test that he does not love God above all else and that he really cannot. The sadness with which the young man turns away from Jesus proves that Jesus' way was the right one. And Jesus Himself is moved with compassion for the young man. He saw the man's honest and upright purpose but He could not at that moment tell him more than He did. He can however turn to His disciples and say what He would gladly have said to the young man himself: With men it is impossible but with God all things are possible (Mk. 10:27).

Jesus proceeds in the same way with the lawyer who wanted to discuss with Him the idea of "neighbor." Jesus purposely and consciously leads him out of the study chamber into the realities of life (Lk. 10:25). And then it suddenly becomes clear that the real difficulty in the way to eternal life lies not in the difficulty of the concepts but in the difficulty of doing. Would not we to-day under similar circumstances be quick to insist that everything depends not upon the logical disputation but

upon the practical application. Moreover, in Luke's Gospel this narrative of the lawyer and his question follows immediately upon the beatitude concerning those who have been privileged to see in Christ the dawning of the day of salvation (Lk. 10:22).

Of course it goes without saying that Jesus could not have answered in these two cases as He did answer if He had not been persuaded that the fulfilling of the divine will is the matter of prime importance. But Paul, too, was thoroughly persuaded of the same thing. Yes, Paul too knows of a judgment according to works (II Cor. 5:10). It is nothing but a coarse misunderstanding of Paul's theology when he is represented as holding that faith exempts from works. The only difference between Paul and Jesus is that Paul had no occasion in the course of his doctrinal writings to adopt the pedagogical procedure of Jesus. Moreover, Paul's doctrine of justification presupposes that the law has done its work in the individual. And however we interpret the details of Rom. 7:7-25, this passage as a whole is at any rate a very striking proof that Paul understood that man can in the works of the law bring himself to the point of despair, and indeed must. Only through this thought does the apostle come to the triumphant experience with which the entire passage closes: "I thank God through Jesus Christ."

But since Jesus wished to lead His hearers first of all to a serious effort at keeping the divine law, He could not in the same breath mitigate the seriousness of His demand by an untimely reminder of the sinful inability of man. It is poor pedagogy which renders ineffective the majestic conclusion of the commandments in the Small Catechism by warning the children prematurely not to think that they can obey these demands. This method of procedure is thought to furnish a good transition to the second part of the Catechism, but in reality it closes the way for the children to come to an inner experience of the transition. This transition from law to Gospel the children must experience and that fact should somehow be told them at this point in the Catechism. They must realize within their own hearts that no man can stand before the majesty of God's requirements. But this must be a matter of experience with them as with others and this experience they will be sure to have in proportion as they are unreservedly impressed with the solemn duty of obeying the divine will. So Jesus wished to bring men

to the knowledge that "with men it is impossible." But He wanted them to experience that fact. For that purpose He was obliged to appeal purely and simply to their wills and could not add statements of truths whose understanding He knew must be gained by the men themselves. Moreover an occasional isolated expression from Jesus' mouth indicates what He thought of human sin, for example, "Ye then being evil." (Matt. 7:11). The more incidental such remarks are, the more characteristic are they of Jesus' thought on the subject. He is so thoroughly convinced of the fact that all men are sinful that He expressly teaches His disciples to pray, "Forgive us our debts." When we read Paul it might seem—though it is only in the seeming—as if he knew of no sin on the part of Christians, but Jesus' words leave no doubt on the point. He gives that prayer to His own chosen apostles. He teaches that in life's evening hour the reward for the whole life is of pure grace (Matt. 20:1 sqq.). The apostles who were dreaming of special places in the Kingdom of Heaven are told that these dreams of theirs place them among "the last" and that they are in danger of becoming entirely unfitted for the Kingdom. Through this parable of the laborers in the vineyard Jesus wishes to drive home a truth which on another occasion He illustrated with the object lesson of a child placed in the midst of the disciples, namely, the truth that the Kingdom of Heaven is wholly and entirely a gift (Matt. 18:2).

Now if Jesus taught that the Kingdom of God is a gift, and that too a gift mediated through His own Person, then it easily follows that participation in that Kingdom is conditioned in the final analysis upon union with His Person. Nor is it a valid objection that if Jesus really meant to teach what we have just stated He should have expressed it oftener and more clearly and should have been far more concerned to secure a correct and potent understanding of His Person and His mediatorship. This objection always carries a certain false charm about it. It is necessary for us therefore to consider it more in detail. The argument overlooks a four-fold consideration.

In the first place, this argument of the objector involves an unconscious intellectualism and mistakes the real purpose of Jesus' mission. The purpose of His life was not to give men all manner of instructions about His own Person but to draw

them into the actual communion of the Kingdom of God. And just this is the point which Jesus keeps in mind in all His preaching and working. It is not right to assert, as has sometimes been done, that Jesus saw a child of God in every human being. It is the disciples alone whom He teaches to pray, "Our Father who art in Heaven," and Jesus sometimes expressly states that He can understand it if the heathen vex themselves with cares. But such vexations do not belong to the disciples, for unlike the heathen they know that they have a Father in Heaven (Matt. 6:32). It was this certainty of His Heavenly Father that filled His inner life with its content and attracted and inspired His followers. And it was this that constituted Jesus' real calling. Everything that He had to say about His own Person was secondary to this main purpose.

Now any effort that Jesus might have made to lead men to an understanding of His Person must have been adapted pedagogically to the circumstances. That is the second point to be remembered here. It is a feature that we dare not lose sight of if we are to understand the apostles' lofty appreciation of Jesus' Person, an appreciation which is not without its roots in the Gospel. If we are to suppose that Jesus proceeded wisely in His teaching we can not expect that He could have begun at once by revealing the secret of His Person. Even we are unable to unlock our inmost being to those who do not understand us. And how then could the Eternal Child of God have led men to an understanding of His Person except by first letting His followers experience something in His Person? It is an easy task and the effect is often far from pleasant when men seek to reconstruct the actual facts of history. But here is a case in which we should certainly be unable to conceive any other course for history. We can not conceive how Jesus' testimony concerning Himself could have come in any other way than that in which it did actually come. It might disturb our confidence in the other features of the portrait which the evangelists paint of Jesus if He had sought to bring His followers to a clear knowledge of His Person by any other means than by the gradual progress of the immediate impression which they received from Him.

Jesus' main object was to lead men into inner communion with God in His Kingdom. To that end He could not proceed at once to a complete revelation of His own Person. But in the

third place, it was part of His plan *finally* to reveal His own Person and this as a matter of historical fact He actually did. He led men to faith in His Person through a process of education. We need but to recall what is told us of the day at Caesarea-Philippi (Matt. 16:15 sqq.). Here we see that through all the reserve which Jesus exercised His real aim was finally to bring His disciples to faith in Himself. In that hour he believed that His followers had advanced far enough for Him to ask about their faith concerning Him. And the account indicates that Jesus considered it one of the climaxes of His life when He received from Peter the good confession of faith. This corresponds exactly with other portions of the Gospels. If anyone will fix his attention upon this point he will observe again and again how Jesus Himself refers men to His own Person and binds them to Himself. The burdened and heavy-laden He invites to His bosom (Matt. 11:28). By virtue of His divine power men receive forgiveness of sins from His hand (Matt. 9:2). And not only for the present does He confer benefits but also for the future. Salvation depends upon the attitude toward Him and the confession of Him (Matt. 10:32; Lk. 12:9). In the description of the last judgment the verdict is in the last analysis based upon the attitude towards Him (Matt. 25:31 sqq.). We need but to refer to the significance attached in Jesus' proclamation to such expressions as "for my sake" (e. g. Matt. 5:11; 10:18, 39; 16:25; 19:29) and "in my name" (e. g. Matt. 7:22; 18:20; Mk. 9:37, 38, 39; 13:6) in order to see that He regarded the attitude to God and fellowmen as entirely dependent upon the attitude towards Himself. It is therefore more than a mere form of expression when Jesus occasionally introduces those who have attached themselves to Him as "believers in Him" (Matt. 18:6).

Then, too, in the fourth place, we must understand that from the very necessity of the case, the apostolic proclamation had to bear a different character from that of Jesus' witness concerning Himself. If Jesus taught that everything depends upon the attitude towards Him, then we can easily understand that the apostles must have felt it their duty always to place Him in the very center of their preaching. They were placed under a necessity which Jesus naturally could not feel. The pedagogical reserve which Jesus exercised is dropped entirely from the apos-

toloc proclamation. Those who stood under the immediate impression of Jesus' Person had not yet felt the necessity afterwards felt by the apostles in their preaching to outsiders, the necessity of making Jesus Person the central thought of their proclamation. The chief concern of the apostles in their preaching was not to communicate doctrinal information concerning Jesus. Rather was it to paint Christ before the eyes of their hearers and readers as Paul has so beautifully expressed it to the Galatians (3:1). The Person of Jesus needed to be so carefully portrayed before the people that they could experience in the portrait what the disciples experienced in their immediate contact and association with Jesus Himself. The preaching of Christ as the conscious bearer of the divine Kingdom and as the one who sought to lead His followers to the Father, had to have Christ as its center and as its entire content.

So the fact remains that the apostolic proclamation shows a different character from that of Jesus' witness concerning Himself. But this difference grows out of the difference between their respective tasks and rests upon the essential identity of Jesus' purpose with the purpose of the apostolic witnesses. In both instances Jesus is in His Person bearer of the Kingdom of God and the actual communion with Him is the means of attaining membership in that Kingdom. Only one serious question remains and that is, how far can the apostolic testimony concerning the death and resurrection of Jesus be said to rest upon His own words and deeds. This is the chief point of difficulty for a great many people and here the problems that arise are many.

Among the arguments made to show a conflict in this matter of the resurrection between the apostolic proclamation and that of Jesus Himself there is one which I must confess I have never been able to understand. The argument consists in pointing to the parable of the prodigal son and asserting that this single parable proves Jesus to have been without any thought of attaching redemptory significance to His death. Now it must indeed be admitted that Jesus says nothing in this parable concerning the mediation of God's love through His own death. But that surely does not justify the conclusion which some men draw. On other points it is always admitted that the parable can not be pressed into the details and that we dare not insist

upon finding in them the answers to all sorts of questions. We should emphasize in each parable only the one clear point which that particular parable is intended to illuminate. In this case of the prodigal son, therefore, there can be no doubt that the only point intended to be illustrated is the infinite love of God in its sharp contrast to all merely human conceptions of self-righteousness. Jesus did not intend to say anything at all in this parable concerning the manner in which the divine love is mediated and we dare not seek to draw any information on that subject from what Jesus said or did not say on this occasion. In such cases it is always helpful to try to realize how an effective sermon must treat such a parable. For us who can view the completed activity of Jesus' life-work it is always easy to illustrate the love of God by referring to the Person of Christ and His death. But whoever has made the experiment on the parable of the prodigal son knows how easily such a method of illustration can defeat the very purpose of the parable. The real purpose is to show the sharp contrast between the human and the divine idea of righteousness. And the more powerfully the preacher would present this contrast, the more carefully must he guard against bringing into the discussion questions which do not belong there and which only becloud the real points to be emphasized.

Far more serious are two other objections which are made against the redemptory signification of Jesus' death and resurrection. If such significance actually attaches to those events and if the apostles were right in so preaching, would not Jesus have spoken of it far more frequently and more consistently than He did? And above all, how can such a view of Jesus' death possibly be reconciled with the undeniable fact that Jesus forgave sins before His passion and death?

We shall do well to take up the second question first. We should be confronted in this question with an insoluble difficulty if the apostolic proclamation had made of Jesus' death and resurrection a mere objective physical accomplishment, necessary as such for the forgiveness of sins. In reality however, Paul regards Jesus Christ as the mediator of redemption solely on the ground of His Person, and His work in history is significant only in its bearing upon His Person. So that it does not necessarily involve a contradiction of Paul's thought if Jesus claimed

in His earthly life to forgive sins through His own Person. The only question can be whether if Jesus thus forgave sins His death and resurrection can still be said to have any special significance for the forgiveness of sins.

Then, too, we must understand that if there is any real contradiction here, it does not lie between the proclamation of the apostles and that of Jesus, but must be a self-contradiction within the witness of Jesus Himself. For it is a plain matter of fact that Jesus according to the Synoptics frequently spoke of the redemptory significance of His death. It is simply not correct, as is sometimes asserted, that Jesus tried on only two occasions (see below) to lead His disciples to an understanding of His death. We need but to recall how Jesus at Caesarea-Philippi begins with a witness concerning His passion and death (Matt. 16:21). Three things are to be gathered from that account. In the first place, that the Lord intended from the beginning to lead His disciples to an understanding of His passion and death. We no longer wonder why that did not take place at once. If He had to exercise reserve in His teaching concerning His Person, we can even more readily understand that His witness concerning His passion and death could only begin after a certain understanding of His Person had been attained. In the second place, the account of Jesus' conversation with Peter at Caesarea-Philippi shows as plainly as could be desired that Jesus had good reason to exercise reserve with His testimony concerning His death. Even Peter, the very one who had just made the good confession concerning Jesus' Person, was utterly unable to comprehend Jesus' announcement concerning His passion and death. Nevertheless, in the third place, that account shows that from that time forward Jesus made a positive effort to bring His disciples to an understanding of the secret of His death. And although we have no definite information as to how this was accomplished, yet we cannot but think that it must have been done as indicated by the two expressions definitely transmitted to us. It is true that the authenticity of these utterances has been called into question but no convincing arguments can be made against them.

In the first utterance Jesus begins by placing His death as well as His whole life in the general category of a service rendered and then designates His death more exactly as a ransom paid (Matt. 20:28). We can not stop now to give a detailed

exegesis of the passage. Suffice it to say that the passage leaves no possibility of doubt that the apostolic conception of a redemption in Jesus' death was quite familiar to Jesus Himself during His life. Much more significant on this point is Jesus' utterance on the occasion when He instituted the Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:28). Its authenticity is certain. And the historical value of the utterance can hardly be over-estimated. Jesus' earthly life has come to an end, and according to human ways of looking at things it seems to have ended in a complete collapse of His own aims. Nevertheless, at that very moment Jesus ventures to give expression to the momentous thought that in reality His death is to be the very means of establishing the new covenant based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins. He evidently has in mind both the sealing of the Old Testament covenant as well as the prophecy concerning the new covenant (Jer. 31:31). As the old covenant could not be established without the shedding of blood, so the new covenant will be established through His blood. And this new covenant will be based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins. If Jesus died in the certainty that His death had such significance for the forgiveness of sins then it is clear that it would be an inner contradiction within Jesus' self-consciousness if this did not harmonize with His earlier practice of forgiving sins. We can scarcely believe such a self-contradiction possible. A closer and more detailed consideration of Jesus' words will convince us that no such difficulty existed.

What, for instance, does Jesus regard as the basis of the power and authority with which He forgave sins? It cannot be denied that He claims to do it in God's name: His enemies are entirely consistent in regarding it as blasphemy when Jesus assured the palsied man that his sins were forgiven (Matt. 9:3). It is quite significant therefore that Jesus in justifying His procedure speaks of the power given to the Son of Man (v. 6). Now we know that the meaning of the term "Son of Man," is still the subject of much discussion. But we know that the phrase expresses the fact that Jesus consciously placed Himself upon the side of men and wished to be counted entirely on that side. Then we must conclude that Jesus wished so to exercise the forgiveness of sins, that although He exercised it through divine power nevertheless He might at the same time be regarded as in solid-

ity with the human race. In other words, Jesus wished to descend and place Himself on a level with the needy ones for whose benefit He exercised the forgiveness of sins.

Another expression of Jesus along much the same line will probably help us somewhat in this connection. In the account of Jesus' tireless activity in healing the sick the evangelist adds the remark that thereby the prophecy of Isaiah is fulfilled, "Himself took our infirmities and bore our sicknesses" (Matt. 8:17). This application of the prophecy is apt to surprise us at first. But it leads to the very kernel of a correct comprehension of Jesus' activity. Jesus' helpful cures were in the final analysis a sharing of the burden, a bearing of the sicknesses. It was just this that made it a real task for Jesus to render the external aid which He did. It was a sympathetic fellow-suffering with those in misery, a real descent to the level of their need. Especially does this apply to the deepest need of men, the need caused by their sins. Here again the son of Man assumed the needs of men as His own burden. Only thus did Jesus lift the burden, by taking it upon His own shoulders.

We may make this point clearer by a more general consideration. The real mission of Jesus' life in this world was to establish the Kingdom of God. But how was the Kingdom to be established? Certainly through divine power. God's rule in this world can only be set up by one who is himself on God's side. But this again Jesus could not properly do except by taking part personally in the needs of humanity in whose midst the Kingdom of God was to be established. We might conceive of other ways of establishing the Kingdom. For example, it is not inconceivable that the Kingdom might have been established and the King Himself remain unconcerned about the needs which the Kingdom was supposed to relieve. But we may ask whether mankind would have received any real help in this way? Is it not a fact that in our inner needs we can be helped only by one who can thoroughly understand our needs and who is himself willing to descend to our own needy level? I believe it would be psychically impossible even if it were conceivable, for one who is morally alive, to receive help from one who would himself remain untouched by his needs. Are we then asserting too much when we say that Jesus Himself could not have been of any real help to mankind in their needs if He had not Him-

self descended to their own needs. The descent of Jesus into the need and guilt of human sin reached its completion in His death. In His crucifixion He has so completely identified Himself with needy mankind that He gives His life a ransom for men. He assumes human guilt and in His death suffers God's judgment upon the sins of men, so that through His death is made possible the new covenant in which sins are freely forgiven. Thus we see the unity of purpose that permeates Jesus' life as well as His death. Both living and dying He brings the forgiveness of sins. As Jesus during His life forgave sins only by Himself assuming their burden, so when the burden of sin brings Him under the judgment of the cross His death establishes a new covenant applying to the entire human race and making the forgiveness of sins an actual and complete reality. We may admit here that when we express this thought which we have just expressed, we are reading Jesus' self-witness in the light of later apostolic tradition. But that can only mean that the apostolic proclamation has taught us to know what is included in Jesus' testimony concerning Himself. We are not reading foreign thought into Jesus' testimony but are seeking to understand it ourselves. Let us emphasize it once more: it is a simple matter of fact that Jesus Himself associated His death with the establishment of the new covenant.

The difference therefore between the apostolic witness concerning Jesus and His own witness concerning Himself is only formal, not material. And if it was really Jesus' idea that the new covenant should finally be established through His death, then the apostles were right in making His death the central point of their proclamation. That does not by any means necessitate that Jesus' earthly life should be without significance. As a matter of fact the apostles also took that feature of His work into consideration. In their missionary propaganda Jesus' life must have played a large part. Apart from His life His death would be utterly without redemptory significance. And more than that, Jesus' activity in His Messianic calling was the beginning of the establishment of God's Kingdom in this world, and the visible expression given to God's love through the entire life-work of Jesus was an indispensable boon for His Church. But the fact remains that Jesus' earthly labors benefitted primarily only individuals, whereas in His death a new covenant is perma-

nently established for the benefit of all mankind. So Jesus Himself regarded the matter. The Risen One gave His followers the assurance that He would be henceforth forever present in His Church with the full measure of His salvation (Matt. 28:20). The apostles therefore could not but proclaim as they did, that His death and resurrection are the foundation of salvation, that the living Lord is the bearer of salvation, and that we can enter into fellowship with God only through faith in Jesus Christ.

IV.

Let us sum up our arguments. It is in the final analysis a message of good tidings that the apostles and Jesus Himself announced: God was in Christ. In Christ God entered the course of human history in such a way that God's royal domain became reality in this world and a new covenant based entirely upon the forgiveness of sins was established. In other words, God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself. In Christ God offers the sinner His fellowship, so that the sinner has only to exercise faith in the divine offer or rather to allow the divine offer to bring forth faith within him. Whenever a man exercises this confiding faith he has entered into fellowship with God. Thus we see how little basis there is for the objection to the Church's understanding of the Gospel on the ground that faith in Christ hampers or excludes faith in God. That objection grows out of a misunderstanding of the content of the Gospel. In Christ God comes to us and we come to God. They are entirely right who remind us that religion has but one aim and object, namely, to have God. That is correct; to have God is everything. The only question is, how can we attain fellowship with God, how can we be confident that we have Him? There is but one way: through faith in Jesus Christ. Then it follows that no one can have faith in Jesus unless Jesus Himself is on the side of God, there interceding for His faithful. If God has given Himself to us in Christ, and if through our faith in Christ we meet God Himself, then it follows that our certainty of these two facts includes our certainty of Christ's deity. And however much we emphasize that fact and whatever conclusions we may draw from it concerning our faith in God, the fact remains that Christ is

our only way to the Father. We believe in Christ because only through that faith can we believe in God.

But the most important question still remains to be answered. Is the Gospel, as we have described it, really a Gospel, a message of glad tidings? We have seen that Paul experienced it as such. But was not Paul's experience perhaps conditioned upon the historical circumstances in which he stood? Can Paul's Gospel be a Gospel for all times? I have read how one of the leaders of the socialists poured out his ridicule over the ineffectual preaching in the churches. "Ah!" he added, "if we socialists only had the pulpits Sunday after Sunday, what a different effect we would produce!" I confess these words of the opponent furnish food for thought. The preacher in the Church may well ask himself whether he is really able to prove that the Gospel which he preaches is actually Gospel. Incidentally be it said that the charge of the socialist quoted above is by no means justified. It is indeed a simple matter to commend the tenets of socialism as good tidings because they appeal to all the natural instincts of man. The Christian Gospel, on the other hand, is in large measure directly and consciously opposed to those instincts. Christ can only be understood where certain presuppositions are present or have been prepared. This fact must be kept in mind lest in spite of our good intentions we forfeit the real power of the Gospel in order to make it acceptable to our times. It is a general principle that the loftier the message of good tidings the more it is based upon certain conditions. Is it really so wonderful then that this principle should apply in a special manner to the Gospel of God?

This is the first point, therefore, that the Christian Gospel is purely Gospel of God. God is its entire content. It can therefore be understood only where there is a real lively longing after God or where such a longing is developed. In fact it is a counterfeiting of the Gospel which lauds it as satisfying the desire for happiness and introduces God as guarantee for such satisfaction. It is simply not right to find the origin of religion in the desire of human personality for happiness and freedom from the bonds of nature. Real genuine religion was never intended by God as a means to some other end. The preacher in the pulpit must be careful not to contort the aim of religion. There is danger of this, especially when the preacher seeks to proceed

psychologically. He is tempted unconsciously to base upon the human desire for happiness. In a certain sense of course this is not wrong. For as a matter of fact God is the highest happiness of man. To have God is to have everything. This fact the preacher of the Christian Gospel must make plain, lest those without should misunderstand the Gospel and be repelled, and lest those within develop an unhealthy Christianity. The Gospel as Jesus preached and lived it leaves no doubt as to its all-inclusive content. Not only the conception and direction of one's own life but even one's attitude towards nature is entirely changed. Jesus was able to find traces of His Heavenly Father in the smallest as well as the greatest of earthly things. He obeyed implicitly His own command to take no anxious thought but to commit everything to the Father in Heaven. And even in the Synoptics we find distinct traces of the lofty thought which constitutes the real center of the Johannean witness, namely, that man finds his life only when he yields it to God (Lk. 17: 33). But Jesus says expressly in that connection that man must lose his life in order to find it in God. This point no preaching of the Church dare in any way obscure. The preacher must not try to persuade men that they should seek God as a means to other good ends, no matter how high those ends, even if it be the completion of one's own life. He who seeks God must seek Him only and for His own sake. Now our general principle is that in matters of pure religion one dare not seek his own happiness but only God. The human desire for happiness therefore can constitute a ground for accepting the Gospel only if it be deepened or rather changed into a desire for God. The proclamation of the Gospel can only be thoroughly understood when it reaches down to the very depths of the human heart hungering after God and inclined towards Him. But there it is understood and there it becomes a joyful message of glad tidings, the gladdest possible, namely, that God would in Christ give Himself to men.

That the Gospel of Jesus Christ is a Gospel only for such as are seeking God,—this is the first limitation that is set for the proclamation of the Gospel. But even where an eager longing after God has been aroused in a person and where a person has earnestly desired to grasp the Gospel of God as the one message of glad tidings for him, that Gospel is not at once definitely under-

stood in its entire content. If the heart of a man is seeking after God, that man wants to know how to reach God. And then it may confuse him for a moment to be told that he can not reach God but that God must reach him. Yet just that is the content of the message of glad tidings, that God, entirely of His own accord, draws men into fellowship with Himself, although men think they can and must attain this fellowship in their own strength. In a certain sense this cannot be otherwise. In fact it dare not be otherwise. When the longing after God crowds everything else into the background, the individual cannot but regard the divine fellowship he desires as his own affair and he cannot but regard himself responsible for attaining it. It would be quite in vain and really unwise to try prematurely to correct this mistaken view and to show the individual that it is impossible for him to work his way through to God. No, man need only know that he must come to God. That he can not make his way to Him may be learned only through painful experience. But experience must teach him. And not only must it teach him his own inability to make himself acceptable to God. But in that he realizes his own inability to reach the desired boon he discovers also the perversity and pride mingled with his longing after God and purges them away. True, God has been the object of his desires, but the error has been that *he* has desired God and has thought that he might compel God, as it were, to be for him. Now if God is everything in matters of religion then man dare not seek to approach Him through human strength. It is God who must begin and complete the act of establishing fellowship with Himself. This, then, is the point where God begins to strive with the man who would enter into fellowship with Him. God must let that man experience again and again that all his efforts to draw near to God apparently only remove him to a greater distance, until the man finally understands that if he is to enter into divine fellowship at all, God alone can establish it and that, too, of His own accord. Thus the Gospel of the God who freely offers Himself to us in Christ becomes a message of glad tidings. Indeed, it becomes such a sublime Gospel that man does not dare to believe it. Instinctively man asks again and again what he must now do to share this fellowship with God. He learns indeed that God wishes fellowship with him. But what must he do towards it? God's striving with

him continues until he finally realizes that God's gracious offer of fellowship with Himself asks for absolutely nothing else than that man shall finally learn to believe and trust that free offer. It is always a miracle when man gives up at last all his efforts to force his way to God and learns to understand that he can be saved only by implicit confidence in God's gracious offer of Himself. When a man learns to realize that great truth he sees that it is in the deepest sense a message of glad tidings: he can rest now from all the ineffectual labors of his own pride assured that God's grace alone is the basis for his salvation.

That is the second limit set for the preaching of the Gospel: it presupposes an experience of human inability to work a way through to God. In one aspect, however, this experience is already an experience of sin. Now sin is not mere inability; it is also guilt. And the full experience of the Gospel rests again upon the condition that sin be experienced as guilt. This points to the third limit set for Christian preaching. God's offer of Himself for fellowship with man, which as we have seen is the basis of our entire Christian estate, is made in the forgiveness of sins. That is the central content of the entire message of glad tidings, that God would in Christ Jesus establish fellowship with sinners. How shall that message be understood where there is no consciousness of sin's guilt? But for the man who is conscious of his sin and guilt and who feels that he must on that account be excluded from God's fellowship,—for such a man it is indeed a message of glad tidings to learn of the Christ who invited to Himself the very ones who felt that they must be excluded from divine fellowship and for such a man the foundation of his entire life is the forgiving grace of God as it was made manifest in Jesus Christ.

But something more must be said in this connection. The revelation of divine love, of which we have spoken, is a special kind of revelation. As John testifies (I Jno. 4: 9, 10) God's love was manifested toward us in that He sent His only begotten Son to be the propitiation for us. God's revelation is propitiation, and this propitiation is accomplished through judgment upon sin. This is the point of greatest difficulty for the natural man. Again and again the question is asked whether God could not forgive without visiting judgment upon sin. The live conscience must find answer to this question. It is entirely

wrong to seek by means of wise calculations and skillful arguments to elucidate the mystery of Christ's death for the theoretical understanding. The entire proclamation of propitiation and reconciliation in the work of Christ appeals only to the stricken conscience and here alone can it expect to be understood and acted upon. Such a conscience will at least furnish the presuppositions for that proclamation in that it feels a consciousness of guilt separating it from God. The only question might be whether this consciousness of guilt is purely subjective in its nature or whether it corresponds to some objective reality in God. If there is no such objective reality then all that would be necessary for reconciliation with God would be such a revelation of God's love as would drive away man's guilty thoughts about himself. But if man's consciousness of guilt has objective grounds, then much more is necessary. And conscience itself cannot regard the matter as purely subjective. If man's consciousness of guilt should no longer recognize in God's nature, an objective necessity excluding the sinner from His presence, that consciousness would at once prove itself a delusion. And if the human conscience has actually experienced the guilt of sin as a reality, then there can no longer be anything strange about the Christian proclamation which says that in the death of Jesus Christ God visited judgment upon sin. Indeed, it may be said, that any other proclamation which would subtract anything from the seriousness of the self-condemnation which man has experienced could not strike root in the mind of man. When a person lends ear to the Gospel it is because the Gospel corroborates his own consciousness that sin has brought him under the judgment of God. Then, too, the lively conscience begins to understand how the judgment of a holy God could pass upon Jesus Christ who is different from myself and yet not wholly different in that we belong together. That corresponds to a double experience which every Christian has had, namely, that he himself is responsible to God and that he cannot himself atone for his own sins. Of course we do not mean to say that man could of himself reach the Gospel from that point where he experiences the consciousness of guilt. Not by any means. If he had thought, up to that time, that he had understood the Church's proclamation of Christ he now realizes that it is a most profound mystery which God alone can speak to his soul and which

God alone can make to answer the deep inner need in which he stands. The conscious experience of guilt is therefore nothing more than the necessary circumstance under which the Gospel can become operative. When a man has had an inner experience of God's judgment upon sin, he has learned to look upon the word of judgment executed upon Christ as that which redeems him from his deepest inner needs. Then he lives in the blissful realization that God has in Christ Jesus Himself removed the sin which stood between Him and man so that it may be dropped from mind forever.

In the final analysis, therefore, it is a specific experience which makes possible a complete understanding of the Biblical Gospel. But this experience is the work of God's guiding will, and we cannot accept the mediating position of those who say that the New Testament shows two ways of attaining reconciliation with God and that both are equally indispensable. The one way, it is said, is through the individual's exercise of his human powers. This method was countenanced by Jesus' optimistic view of man, and only in this way is a personal Christianity possible for those who demand a free and powerful religion. The other way is through the Pauline Gospel. A number of personalities eminent in Church History—e. g. Augustine and Luther—have proceeded by this way and even to-day there are not a few who owe their religious life to the Pauline method, although the collapse of personal life which the religious experience presupposes according to Paul can not be expected of every one to-day. This view we can not share either in the presupposition upon which it goes or in the mediating solution which it proposes. There is no such conflict as is here claimed to exist between Paul and Jesus. Neither can we admit that the experience at the bottom of the Pauline Gospel is purely individual in its nature and application and cannot be expected of all men. The farther God leads a man the better will he be able to have a real living experience of the Gospel in its full sense, as Paul in harmony with the other apostles and Jesus Himself proclaimed it.

I need scarcely add that in what I have just now said I have meant to express purely fundamental principles and do not have in mind any personal application whatever. In fact we should be obliged to cease entirely from speaking of these matters in public if we had constantly to fear that our action would be mis-

interpreted as a proud boasting concerning the superiority of our own rich religious experience. We are too busy with ourselves to have any inclination to pass judgment upon the personal Christianity of others. Furthermore, as a matter of principle such an attitude would be unallowable. Even our own arguments in this article should serve to make that plain, and for two reasons. In the first place, our discussion is in part based upon the principle that religious knowledge is not by any means the measure of religious experience. As a rule, of course, our knowledge of a person or an object is necessary before we trust that person or object. But a great variety of circumstances can and do modify that rule. We must remember that among the many factors constituting a man a Christian, his religious knowledge is only one. In the second place, our very last arguments have served to show that the religious need of the soul is answered by a definite content of the Gospel and that the answer is determined by that soul's individual experience of its religious and moral needs. So that we can easily conceive of a deep confidence in God which may yet be unanchored in the faith of Christ and is therefore uncertain. Such was the case in the days of rationalism. There is always a possibility that such unanchored faith may some day in the course of deeper experience topple and fall. For we know that faith in God is fundamentally uncertain unless it is rooted and grounded in Christian experience and that in the final analysis only such a faith as Paul describes in Romans 8:31-34 can permanently endure.

For these reasons we reject the mediating position explained above. For us it would virtually mean to exclude some from the full experience of the Gospel. It is strange what zeal some people manifest in calculating the minimum amount of faith which one must retain in order to be counted among the faithful. As a matter of fact, however, we need not figure what measure of knowledge would give man the right to believe in God. If such were the case, it would be entirely in order to set the "mildest conditions" possible. But in reality the matter of vital concern is to describe the way in which one can learn to rejoice in the richness of the divine revelation. It would be a rather peculiar "toleration" to try to persuade a man to rest content in the partial experience of divine revelation. Our meaning here should be plain. If we have rightly developed the con-

tent of the Gospel as the apostles and Jesus themselves desired it should be, then all energies must be set to the task of leading men to a full experience of that Gospel. Let it be repeated here most emphatically that a mere outward appropriation of that Gospel is by no means a real possession of its rich stores. But let no one make the genuine mistake of foreclosing any further experience of the Gospel by prematurely terminating his own development.

There is in the final analysis one deadly enemy to all progressive development, and that is hasty termination of that development. Would that this principle might be applied with all seriousness to religious experience! To continue receptive to progressive experience of one's own needs and to progressive experience of the richness of God's revelation,—that is the secret of religious progress. And to imbibe in ever increasing measure the vast riches of the Gospel may well be called the labor of an entire Christian life.

From what has been said we may easily gather the principles which determine the Christian's assurance of the truth and reality of the Gospel. We can not enter into further details. If the greater Pauline writings must be considered genuine and if we can trust the apostle at all when he asserts that he received his Gospel from the original Church at the time of his conversion, then we have the very best authority for the content of the Gospel, an authority going back very close to the time when that content was history. How can we conceive that in the few years here intervening the historical facts should have been completely distorted? And if nothing more than a single utterance like Jesus' utterance at the institution of the Lord's Supper is to be regraded as authentic, there can be no doubt that the Gospel as proclaimed by the apostolic Church has the authority of Jesus Himself for its central content. This proximity of our records to the historical events which they record is of great importance, as one can easily understand by contrasting the gap which exists in the non-Christian religions between their historical founders and the records of their lives. This unique credibility of evangelical history must not be disturbed by the fact that the non-Christian religious systems contain analogies to certain thoughts, views, and even narratives, in the Christian world. Closer inspection will in all cases show the uniqueness of the Christian

ideas. Furthermore, we cannot avoid believing that if Christianity is the absolute religion we must for that very reason expect to find in other religions intimations and analogies of what in Christianity is complete reality.

Nevertheless, even if I could here develop in detail the arguments indicated in the last paragraph that would not constitute a purely historical proof for Christianity. The Christian religion has indeed to do with facts of history and these facts can be determined by historical method but the essential content of Christianity as a religion is the self-revelation of God and His free offer to enter into fellowship with man; and although the conception of the Christian facts and the certainty of those facts depends upon the historical investigation, yet the most vital and fundamental elements in the Christian religion can not be attained by historical means. God's witness concerning Himself can indeed be experienced in life, but it can never be proved. Now the Gospel of God's self-revelation had its significance in the fact that it makes it possible for us to experience that revelation. The existence of the Gospel in the Church is the actual presence of God's historical revelation so that in and through that Gospel God seizes the individual and draws him irresistibly unto Himself. To what extent this is conditioned upon the painful experience made by the individual within his own personality has already been explained. And it must suffice here to refer to those explanations for the answer to the further question as to how man reaches Christian assurance of the Gospel.

One other fact needs yet to be emphasized. If we have correctly described the Gospel it follows that the Gospel can only be understood after an experience with the law. For if the acceptance of the Gospel presupposes that man knows of his divine destiny and longs for God, then it follows that he must have felt the demands of God's will. Moreover, the painful consciousness of one's own inability to reach God comes only through the despairing effort to do the works of His law. Finally, the conception of sin as guilt is gained only through the experience with the law. Of course we dare not place the law over against the Gospel and isolate it there. A full and deep comprehension of sin's guilt is attained only when man has experienced the infinite Love of God through his faith in the Gospel. But we must not forget the double fact that our consciousness of guilt arises

out of our consciousness of obligation to God and our knowledge of sin necessarily grows out of God's demands upon us. In this double sense therefore does our experience of sin as guilt depend upon the operation of the law.

If, therefore, the Gospel is to be proclaimed effectively in the Church it is highly important that the law also be preached with power. This must not by any means be understood to mean primarily that the preaching of the law should individualize and emphasize specific moral demands. That is right but it may lead to a more or less refined Pharisaism. There is special danger of this if the emphasis on the moral demands of the law be not grounded upon the central thought that the demanding will is that of the Holy God who measures not as man measures and whose judgments are absolute and infallible. The point of chief importance is that the Church have effective witness to the holiness of the living God who insists upon His commands with unbending strictness and who is actually to be feared. The preaching of the law in this sense must prepare the soil for the preaching of the Gospel. The great revival of the last century would scarcely have been possible if the categorical imperative of duty had not done its part towards preparing the soil. And that the Gospel to-day has so little effect and is so little understood is to be explained, I fear, from the fact that the Church does not sufficiently emphasize the knowledge of the holy and righteous God who makes demands upon men and executes judgment upon men. So that even in our own day we have abundant reason to obey the old injunction: from the Law to the Gospel; from Sinai to Golgotha.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE V.

THE RUTHENIANS AND THEIR CHURCH.

BY ALEXANDER E. OBERLANDER, ESQ.

On Sunday, the 2nd day of October, 1910, there was dedicated in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., the First Greek Catholic Ruthenian Cathedral, (of the Immaculate Conception, B. V. M.), in the United States of America. The high celebrant on the occasion was the Metropolitan Archbishop, Count Andrew Szeptycki, of Lemberg, Galicia, in Austria, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the Ruthenian Church. He was assisted in the services by Archbishop Falconio, the Papal delegate at Washington and by the Roman Catholic Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia. Bishop Soter S. Ortynsky, of the Cathedral, the first so-called Greek Catholic Bishop for the United States, preached the sermon in the morning and Archbishop Szeptycki in the evening. Ruthenian clergy from all parts of the United States attended and took part in the services, which, owing to the rich vestments and robes, not only of the high prelates, but also of the plain Ruthenian clergy, was an imposing sight, equalling if not exceeding in splendor, though not magnitude, the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City shortly thereafter. The robes and vestments of the Ruthenian clergy are more gorgeous and glittering than those of their Roman or Latin brothers.

And this leads one to ask, Who and what are the Ruthenians and their church, and what connection, if any, have they with the Church of Rome? The schism between the Latin and the Greek churches has not yet been healed, nor is there any likelihood that it will be; nor is there any communion between the two. And yet we have in the United States a so-called Greek Church, with its cathedral, called the "First Greek Catholic Ruthenian Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception." Truly, not only the name but the whole situation seems anomalous.

The Ruthenian, or as it is sometimes called, the Graeco-Ruthenian Church, is but little understood in the United States and in the Latin countries of Europe. Even the Latin Roman

clergy of this country seem to know little about its history. Owing to litigation with which the writer has been connected for some years concerning several of these so-called "Greek Catholic" churches, he has taken pains to go somewhat into the history of this Church. In his researches he has consulted the libraries of Yale, Columbia, Cornell and Syracuse universities, the Congressional Library at Washington, the Astor and Lennox Libraries of New York City, and the libraries of several minor cities in Central New York. He has secured pamphlets and books from Canada and Europe, besides consulting numberless priests and laymen of both the Ruthenian and the Russian Churches.

He here gives the benefit of his research to the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. The history of the Ruthenian Church is an illustration of how Rome works, taking advantage of every political situation and weakness of a State, and of how it builds not only for to-day and to-morrow, but for the centuries to come.

It was during the late 70's and early 80's, as the Molly McGuire regime in the coal regions of Pennsylvania came to an end, that the owners of the mines looked to the poorer districts of Europe for their laborers. They wanted illiterate men with strength and good dispositions, easy to handle and willing to work for small wages. They found such people in the Carpathian Mountains and the surrounding plateaus, people whose ancestors as late as 1848 were serfs. They were a people of native intelligence, reliable, economical and faithful to their employers. The country of these people had but few schools and many churches, especially up in the mountain districts, so that practically all the people knew from childhood was church, religious ceremonies and work. A few, at first, were brought over to the coal mines where they made excellent miners and where, though their pay was small, they managed to save enough of their earnings to send money to their relatives at home to pay their passage to America. In 1880 there were about 1900 of them in Pennsylvania. At first no attention was given them by the public. They were herded together in camps, shacks and settlements and worked like serfs, as they were accustomed in the old country. They had no opportunity to learn, nor to mingle with other people, as the language they spoke was not understood. No one

recognized them or their religion. Not even the American Roman Catholics seemed to know that in these strangers they had co-religionists, but of a different rite than the Latin. In fact at that time but few in America knew that the Roman Church did not confine its services exclusively to the Latin rite, but had several oriental rites for its churches in eastern countries. These strangers introduced a new element into American church life, one that is giving the Roman authorities no little uneasiness and much thought.

As these strangers grew in number and prosperity, they sent for their priests, the first of whom, Father Volanski, came in 1885 with letters from his home bishop; but being a married man he encountered great difficulty in receiving recognition as a Roman priest in good standing. He however went to work among his countrymen and in 1886 dedicated the first Ruthenian Church in America, at Shenandoah, Pa. From that time to the present they have grown to about 350,000 to 400,000 in North America, of whom it is estimated more than 100,000 are in the great Northwest of Canada. In 1909 there were about 118 priests and one bishop in the United States with about 140 churches, while in Canada they have about a dozen priests attending to about sixty missions. There are also many of their priests in the Northwest who, owing to the fact that they will not recognize the authority of the Latin bishops, are not included in this number. These latter have formed many independent congregations and are at present being supported in great numbers by the Presbyterians. The first Ruthenian Church in Canada was built in 1900 at Winnipeg; in 1905 they built a church at Edmonton. They have a monastery at Winnipeg and a branch at Monastar. In Canada they have also a religious order for women, the Servants of Mary, whose mother house is in Lemberg, Galicia.

Most of the Ruthenian churches in the United States have three church societies, one being a Muscophile or Pro-Russian; one anti-Russian or Ukrainian, and one Hungarian or Pro-Austrian, which is rather more Hungarian than Austrian. These societies or brotherhoods are impregnated with home or old country politics and have their quarrels, the factions standing generally two against one. One can never tell which two will combine against the one; often the quarrel is three-cornered.

The one or Russian brotherhood, (*Obschestvo Russkikh Bratstv*) looks to Moscow for its national inspiration, although perhaps not for its religion; the second, the Russian National Union, (*Russky Narodny Sojus*), with over 12,500 members, is Ukrainian, seeking the restoration of a Little Russian and Lithuanian Nation; and the third, the Russian Greek Catholic Union with over 25,000 members is the *Ugro Russky*, or Hungarian society, which sides more with the Russian or Muscovites than with the Ukrainian party. Whenever a law suit starts in a Ruthenian church or among Ruthenians, it is well to ask to what societies the litigants belong and with this knowledge a proper diagnosis of the ailment can be made.

The children of these people are naturally bright and learn English easily, where they have the opportunity. It is a real pleasure to visit some of their homes and witness how proudly the parent calls upon the children—and they have large families as a rule—to show the stranger how they can read and write. We know of instances where children do the writing for their illiterate parents in communicating with relatives in the old country, the children not only being able to read and write English, thanks to our public schools, but Russian (*Rusniak*) as well. The latter they are taught by the *Kantor*, a small salaried officer of the Church, who by giving private lessons, increases his small income. Only recently we promised a 15-year-old Ruthenian lad, of illiterate parentage, whose father, a client of mine, had died recently, that we would assist him to become a lawyer. The boy was then in the highest grammar class of the city.

These people are tolerant; it is a part of their nature. Should one of them stray into another, even a Protestant Church, he will act reverentially and cross himself as he would in one of his own churches. In this the Ruthenians differ from the Poles who are intolerant.

While the Russians, Poles and Lithuanians are all of Slavonic origin, their differences are more marked than their similarities, owing to geographical, historical and other influences.

In the article on the Ruthenians embodied in the article on the uniate Greek Church, in a recently issued volume of a new Encyclopedia, the author states that the word *Ruthenia* is derived from the later Latin word *Ruthenia*, a former name for Russia, and "of course," continues the article, "the Ruthenians

might well be called Russians." In all our researches, we have failed to find authority for the statement that Ruthenia was a former Latin name for Russia. Russia never was known in Latin as Ruthenia. Moreover the author fails to cite authority. The late Bishop Julian Pelec, of Przemsyl, Galicia, a most learned Ruthenian, makes no such statement in his great work, "*Die Geschichte Der Union Der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom.*" This work was published in Vienna in 1878. A later edition from the same plates was published at Wuerzburg, in Germany, in 1881.

The word Ruthenian designates not so much a race as a religion, a branch of the Roman Church. Such is the view of Bishop Pelec. It seems to be somewhat analagous to such words as Puritan and Orangeman. An Orangeman is an Irishman and a Protestant; a Ruthenian is a Red Russian, or, in the vernacular, a Rusniak, Rusyn or Russine, and a Roman Catholic. Of late, it seems, an effort is being made to extend the word Ruthenian to all Little Russians wherever located. The recently issued Catholic Encyclopedia appears to be the authority for this. There is no word in the so-called Ruthenian language that stands for the word "Ruthenian." Their word is Rusniak, Russine or Rusyn, and not Ruthenian. The Red Russian, Rusniak, Rusyn or Russine belongs to the Little Russian race. The Brockhaus *Konversations Lexicon*, has this to say of the Ruthenians: "Ruthenen, Russinen oder Ruszniaken, die kleinruss. Bewohner Galizien und Ungarn, die zu beiden seiten der Karpaten westlich über den San und östlich bis in die Bukowina hinein wohnen. Sie selbst nennen sich einfach Russen S. Kleinrussen. (Ruthenians, Russinen, or Rusniaks, the Little Russians. Inhabitants of Galicia and Hungary, who reside on both sides of the Carpathians westerly beyond the San and easterly into the Bukowina. They call themselves simply Little Russians)" The heart of the Red Russian country is old Galicia, the present East Galicia, now a crown land of Austria. This crown land, together with another crown land, the Bukowina, formerly incorporated with Galicia, (the two, Galicia and Bukowina, being also known as Russian-Austria), together with the adjoining Polish province of Lublin and the South Russian governments of Poldovia and Volhynia, which provinces have many Red Russians, are a part of the Little Russian country,

or the Ukraine. Thus, while a Red Russian is always a Little Russian, a Little Russian is not always a Red Russian, or a Ruthenian. And while the Red Russian or Rusniak country is old or East Galicia, the Rusniaks or Ruthenians have spread into other parts of Austria, such as Hungary, Croatia, etc., and finally we find them here in North America.

Old Galicia (Halicz) prior to the great Mongol invasion of Europe, 1238, was a principality of Russia. Daniel of Galicia, was one of the last of the Russian princes to make submission to the great Batu, in 1238, and while Great Russia, including the territory of Little Russia east of the Dneiper, and the Crimea, remained under the Mongol yoke for over two hundred years, or until 1462, Galicia early in the 14th century was annexed to Lithuania. At an early day, with western help, other provinces of western Russia and of Little Russia taken by the Mongols, such as Volhynia, Polotsk, Pinsk, Vitebsk, and also the governments of Black Russia threw off the yellow yoke and attached themselves, wholly or partially, to Lithuania, then a powerful nation. In 1316 Gedymin was crowned, "Rex Lethowinorum et multorum Ruthenorum," (King of the Lithuanian and the many Ruthenians). Later in 1386 by the marriage of the Polish queen Jadwiga and the great Lithuanian prince Jagiello, the two, Poland and Lithuania became united, with Poland then and ever thereafter the ruling spirit of the two. Later, in 1569, Poland completely absorbed Lithuania. At the time of the union of the two, Lithuania was still a pagan nation. The Russian provinces and governments which submitted themselves to Lithuanian influence and protection to free themselves from the Tartars, including Old Galicia which was annexed to Lithuania, were strongly Orthodox Greek. By the terms of the union with Poland, all in Lithuania proper were obliged to become Roman Catholic, while the people in the Russian parts were undisturbed in their religion. After a time a large number of the nobles of the Russian parts became Roman in religion and Polish in language, name, manners and ideas. Poland dominated all parts of Lithuania including its Russian parts, by the end of the 16th century, and the Jesuits dominated Poland. The rest is easily told; no religious change of the true Orthodox believers in the Greek faith, for that could not be brought about even with the sword; only a change of the governing head of the Church—the

Pope in place of a patriarch. No change of the Greek religion, dogmas, or creed, as will appear hereafter, by proclamation of the Polish king, but only the placing of his faithful subjects under one truly heavenly shepherd instead of many. At the time of the change there was no strong Russia to prevent, for Russia still had the Tartars at its door in the Crimea, and Poland could not force the Orthodox completely into the Roman Church, as it did the Lithuanian pagans, because Poland had its old enemies, the Turks, at its doors; the compromise was a union of the churches, of the Ruthenian with the Roman. This union has become somewhat Latinized, and the process of Latinization is still working.

The present Galicia comprises old or East Galicia and new or West Galicia, West Galicia being the grand duchy of Cracow, the ancient capitol of Poland. West Galicia is mostly Polish while East Galicia is Little Russian, namely: Red Russian. These two, the Poles and the Red Russians or Rusniaks hate each other, although they are of one religion, as we will point out hereafter, but of different rites and ceremonies, the former being of Latin and the latter of the so-called Greek-Ruthenian rites. When Austria recently annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to its domains, the Russian press, headed by the *Nowoje Wrenja*, demanded that Russia be given Old Galicia as compensation for its consent and that such demand be made at the international conference should one be called. If one wishes to get a fair conception of the political history, map, and the traditions of the peoples, with their likes and dislikes for each other, of Poland, Lithuania, Little Russia or the Ukaine, during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, it is advised that "With Fire and Sword," "The Deluge" and "Pan Michael," by Henryk Sienkiewicz, translated into English with introduction by Jeremiah Curtin, be read. "The Deluge" deals with the Swedish invasion of Poland, a reference being made to the war in which Moscow and the Ukraine are on one side and Poland on the other; "Pan Michael" deals with the wars of Poland, the Ukraine and Turkey, referring to the interest Moscow took in them; while "With Fire and Sword" covers the war of 1648-49 which led to the Ukraine (Little Russia) placing itself six years later under the allegiance to the Moscovite Czar—the whole of the Ukraine except the Gali-

cian portion, which to this day remains under Latin government, namely, Austria.

General attention was first attracted to the Ruthenians in North America by their churches or meeting places with the peculiar cross with three arms of which the lower one slants; by their calling themselves Greek Catholics; and by their internal troubles and law suits. Wherever they built a church, the peculiar shaped cross found a place on its highest part. With the exception of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, none of our standard English dictionaries and encyclopedias, nor the German lexicons, mention this cross, hence we are at a loss to give it a name other than the "three armed cross" or "eight ends cross," or the "Russian cross." It is the oldest cross of the Russian Church and is looked upon by the Russians, both old and new, in Little and Great Russia, of all sections of the Empire, as their national cross. It is not found in other Orthodox Greek Churches. The significance of this cross seems to be but little understood in America and this is not strange in view of the fact that America, aside from Alaska, was settled and populated by Western or Latin Church Christians and their offspring, it being only within a few decades, as before stated, that Eastern or Russian Christians have come among us in sufficient numbers to be noticeable. The top beam of this Russian Church cross represents the board of the original cross upon which was written: "Jesus the King of the Jews"; the second or large beam represents the one on which the Saviour's arms were stretched; and the lower or slanting beam, the smallest of the three, placed near the foot, represents the block on which the Saviour's feet were spiked, the slant indicating that Christ, in his agony pulled up or tried to pull up a foot by reason thereof His body leaned in the direction indicated. After all, does not this cross more fully symbolize the crucifixion than the simple cross of the Western Christians? We confess, when the significance of this treble cross was unknown to us, we looked upon it as a curiosity, but now, knowing its meaning and significance, we look upon it with reverence.

The Ruthenians are not a race or nationality by themselves; they have no language entirely their own, although the language they speak is sometimes referred to by writers as Ruthenian. Being of the Little Russian race, they also have the Little Rus-

sian language. There are about 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 Little Russians, of whom about 4,500,000 are Ruthenians, of the latter about 350,000 to 400,000 are in North America. The root of the Little Russian language is the Slavonic—the same as the Polish, Lithuanian, Servian, Bulgarian, etc., yet the superstructure is entirely different. The Little Russian language also has a great dialectical difference from the Moscovite or Great Russian language.

Russia is a country of many peoples and languages, the principal divisions being the Great Russian and the Little Russian; in addition, there are the White Russians, whose ethnological position is not definitely fixed, the Finns, Tartars, Lithuanians, Poles, Livonians, etc. There are also the Black Russians who bear the same relation to the Great Russians that the Red Russians do to the Little Russians, namely: a branch. The Little Russian country or the Ukraine extends over the southern part of Russia (north of the Crimea) from eastward of the Volga River, including the Cossack country, westward into Galicia, the most northwestern province of Austria, to the grand duchy of Cracow; it does not include the latter. It covers not only what is now known on the maps as Little Russia and Southern Russia, but also about two-thirds of the present province of Galicia, that is, the whole of Old Galicia which included the province of Bukowina. The Ukraine or Little Russian country is somewhat larger than the present Germany. Through being separated politically and ecclesiastically for centuries from the main or Russian branch of the Little Russians, the Red Russians of Austria, who are mostly Graeco-Ruthenians in religion, have not maintained the language in its purity, although they have not dialected it sufficiently to make it a separate language. They are still understood with some difficulty by the main body in Little Russia and vice versa. It is not uncommon among the Russians to call a Little Russian, whether a Red Russian or not, a Ukrainian or Ukrainist. A reunited and free Ukraine seems to be the never-dying dream of a portion of the Little Russians. It is because of this that the so-called Ukrainian spirit is mercilessly suppressed in both Russia and Austria. Repressive laws are in existence and enforced against this spirit in both countries. Thus in the schools of Galicia the Poles are not required to learn and study the Little Russian or Ruthenian language, while the

Ruthenians are required to be taught in the Polish language. The Poles also have more and better school facilities. The Poles are the ruling class in Galicia and are all Roman Catholics of the Latin rite, while the Rusniaks, as said before, are mostly if not all, of the Greek or Ruthenian rite. The Poles greatly interfere with the religious, educational and State matters of the Ruthenians and are hated by the latter, which hatred is reciprocated. It was a Ruthenian student who killed the governor of Galicia, a Pole, a few years ago. It was a "State assassination," the young assassin was actuated by no other than patriotic motives, to free his people from the oppression of the Poles, their enemies. He is looked upon by many of the Galician Ruthenians of the Ukrainian party as a martyr.

This class hatred has spread even to the United States, where Bishop Ortynsky, the recently appointed first Ruthenian Bishop of the United States is called by his enemies: "A young and inexperienced monk of the order of St. Basil, but a dangerous Ukrainist," while of his priestly partisans it is said: "the Galician Ukrainist-radical priests conduct a great campaign in order to swerve the American Greek Catholic Russian people from the Holy Apostolic See, and create a so-called 'independent Little Russian Church,' that is an Ukrainist-national Church." These quotations are from the "Amerikansky Russky Viestnik," the organ of the Hungarian-Ruthenian Society, in which paper these exact words and similar, even stronger language, was printed against the good bishop and his priests, in English, in columns side by side with the Little Russian version. The Viestnik also charges the Ukrainist priestly element with "teaching and encouraging the people to ignore and disrespect the Catholic Hierarchy and to detest the American Catholic Bishops, etc."

All of Little Russia or the Ukraine, (including Old Galicia), was a part of Russia prior to the Mongol invasion (1238), and its inhabitants were Orthodox Greek. That part, as heretofore pointed out, west of the Dneiper, early in the 14th century managed to free itself of the Mongols and became a semi-independent Cossack republic under an elective hetman, giving allegiance to Lithuania. The part east of the Dneiper remained under Tartar rule with Great Russia, and later became free with Great Russia. While the Tartar rule came to an end in 1462, the Tartars nevertheless held on to the Crimea for several centuries

thereafter, harrassing and weakening the Russians to the north periodically until the time of Ivan the Terrible. It was not until 1699 that the Turks and Tartars renounced all claims over Ukraine. To the present day the Tartar or Mongol physiognomy is discernable in many Russians, Little and Great, even Galician Ruthenians. In 1654 the whole of the Ukraine arose against the Poles. It was a popular uprising, the most widespread and stubborn in their history, during which the Poles lost many battles. The Little Russians finally turned to Great Russia and selected the Czar Alexai Mihailovich as their sovereign. This selection was brought about in this manner, the spokesman addressing the people and the army and urging the candidacy of the Czar,—we give the speech here to show the intense Orthodoxy and not uniate religious sentiments of these people and their hatred for the Poles and whatever the Poles stood for:

"Gentlemen, Colonels, Essauls, Commanders of hundreds, the whole Zaporozian army, and all Orthodox Christians,—You know how the Lord delivered us from the hands of our enemies who persecuted the Church of God and were envenomed against all Christians of our Eastern Orthodoxy. We have lived six years without a sovereign, in endless battles against our persecutors and enemies who desire to root out the Church of God, so that the Russian name may not be heard in our land. This position has grown unendurable, and we cannot live longer without a sovereign. Therefore we have assembled a council before the whole people, so that you with us may choose from four sovereigns that one whom you wish. The first is the Sovereign of Turkey, who has invited us under his authority many times through his envoys; the second is the Khan of Crimea; the third the King of Poland, who, if we wish, may receive us into former favor; the fourth is the Orthodox sovereign, the Czar and Grand Prince Alexai Mihailovich, the sole ruler of all Russia, whom we have been imploring six years with unceasing petitions. Choose whom you like. The Sovereign of Turkey is a Musselman; you all know our brethren, the Greeks, Orthodox Christians, suffer, and what persecution they endure from godless men. A Musselman also is the Khan of the Crimea, whom we took into friendship of necessity, by reason of the unendurable woes which we passed through. Of persecution from Polish lords it is needless to speak; you know yourselves that they esteem a Jew and a

dog more than a Christian, our brother. But the great Orthodox sovereign of the East is of one faith with us, one confession of the Greek rite; we are one spiritual body with the Orthodoxy of Great Russia, having Jesus Christ for our head. This great sovereign, this Christian Czar, taking pity on the suffering of our Orthodox Church in Little Russia, giving ear to our six years' entreating, has inclined his heart to us graciously, and was pleased to send with his favor dignitaries from near his person. If we love him earnestly, we shall not find a better refuge than his lofty hand. If any man is not agreed with us, let him go whither he pleases; the road is free."

The Czar was selected and thereafter the war continued with Northern (Great) and Southern (Little) Russia united against Poland-Lithuania. It lasted thirteen years, when a truce, which later ended in a treaty during the reign of Sobieski, gave Russia the city and province of Smolensk and all east of the Dneiper, while Kieff remained with Poland for only two years longer, when it, too, became permanently attached to Russia. It was not until the latter half of the 18th century that Russia regained all of Little Russia except Red Russia (Galicia), which it has never regained.

When the great and final schism between the Latin and the Greek Churches took place in 1054, some of the Greek Catholics in the Red Russian country and adjoining districts remained loyal to the Pope, retaining however their Greek or old Slavonic liturgy, rites, ceremonies, etc. The schism was brought about, not by reason of the different rites, masses, liturgies and forms of worship, but by the addition of the Filioque to the Creed by the Roman Church. The excommunication of the Eastern Church by Rome did not extend to the anathematizing of the Greek rites, liturgies, ceremonies and worship, etc., so that these are as much Roman to-day as they were before the schism. These liturgies or masses include those of St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, Gregory the Great, and St. James, or the Presanctified. These are recognized by the Roman Church as much to-day as when the Church was united. These masses or liturgies are used to-day not only in the Orthodox Greek Churches, including the Russian, but also in a somewhat modified or Latinized form in the several Oriental churches in communion or union with Rome, including the Ruthenian Church,

the process of modification or Latinization having been very slow. It was to distinguish these Little Russians, who were mostly Red Russians, who remained true to the Pope of Rome and acknowledged his supremacy, from the schismatic or Orthodox Greeks, that the Pope gave the name "Ruthenian." Dr. Julian Pelecz, Ruthenian bishop, to whom we have already referred, and whom Pope Leo XIII in a *Litterae Apostolic* of the date of February 24, 1894, gave extraordinary ecclesiastical powers and upon whom he bestowed the dignity, etc., although not the title, of a Metropolitan of the Church, is authority for this. It was the Pope, so far as can be traced, who first used the word "Ruthenian." In all Papal bulls concerning the Church ever since the first use of the word by Rome, it has been used by the Popes. One does not read or hear of Ruthenians in the Little Russian country east of the Dneiper River, and yet that is the larger part of Little Russia, nor do we hear of Ruthenians in the Russia, including Little Russia, of to-day. If it was or is a racial national name we would most likely hear of it there; as it is, it seems to be confined to Austria and the countries in which the Ruthenians in religion are tolerated. Why and how the Pope came to use the word Ruthenian is a matter of surmise. Some maintain it is taken from the words Ukrainians and Roth Russians, the German word Roth being corrupted to Ruth and the "enians" taken from "Ukrainians." However, we also find the word applied in the 10th and 11th centuries to a province in the south of France, namely, "Rouerge" in French and "Provincia Ruthenorum" in Latin, of which the principal cities were. Rodez and Auvergne, named Segeduum Rutheni and Augusta Ruthenorum, in Latin. It is known that at that time many of the inhabitants of the province were Slavs, having come to France or Gaul with the Huns, in their early wars. We also find the word Ruthenian in the writings of the Polish annalist Matinus Gallus in the year 1190; in 1203 the Danish historian Saxe Grammaticus gave the name to the Slavs who had settled on the shores of the Baltic Sea, and who were of the Roman rites. It seems that while they were known to others under the name Ruthenian, the common Ruthenian laity do not recognize the name; it is not of their language, nor is it a translation of Rusniak, Russine, etc. They call themselves, and are, Rusniaks, Russinen, Rusyn or Russky. The priests, however, call them-

selves Ruthenians and their Church the Ruthenian Catholic. The Ruthenians are really Greek uniates, enjoying, however, more privileges than the other uniates, such as the Melchite, Marionite, Syriac, Coptic, Chaldean, Rumanian, Italo-Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Servian, Bulgarian uniates, etc., all of whom while retaining their own peculiar oriental rites and ceremonies, accept the Pope of Rome as their head. The Rumanians are more Latinized than the others. The great body of Servians, Bulgarians, Georgians, Rumanians, etc., however, are Orthodox Greek. The Ruthenian clergy object to the word "Greek Uniate or Uniat" being given them and their church, claiming they are a Ruthenian and not a Greek church. In all the bulls of Rome for twenty years past and over only the word Ruthenian is used to designate them. In not a single papal bull since, are they referred to as Greek Catholic or Graeco-Ruthenian, which was their official designation in the older bulls. The *Ea Semper* bull of the present Pope, Pius X, issued in 1907, which fixes the ecclesiastical status of the Ruthenians in the United States and places them under the care and *designation*, (note: not jurisdiction) of a bishop of their own rites, namely: Bishop Soter S. Ortynsky, does not once use the word "Greek" or "Graeco," either alone or as a hyphenated word, such as "Graeco-Ruthenian."

With the union of Lithuania and Poland made absolute in 1569, Jesuitical influence became more active among those in Lithuania and in the Little and White Russian countries under Lithuanian who still remained loyal to the Orthodox or schismatic Greek Church. The Orthodox were in a large majority, only a small minority of the Little Russians and White Russians adhered to the Pope. The efforts of the Jesuits, who were backed by the Polish king, were finally crowned with success, for, at a synod held in the summer of 1595, at Brescz, Michael Rahosa, the metropolitan of Kief, with seven suffragans, adopted and signed a compact setting forth the conditions upon which they would join with Rome, and two of their numbers, Bishop Hypatius Pociej and Cyrillus Terlecki, were delegated to convey the same to the Pope at Rome, which they did, the final ceremonies taking place amidst pomp and splendor and great honors shown the Ruthenians on December 23rd, 1595. The ceremonies opened with the two Ruthenian bishops kissing the feet of

the Pope. The conditions of the Ruthenians were accepted in full and the decree of union, known as the "*Magnus Dominis*" bull of Clement VIII issued; bearing the date of December 23rd, 1595. In this bull or decree of union the Ruthenians are referred to as Russians, (*nationis Russorum*) and not as Ruthenians or Rutheni. The metropolitan Michael Rahosa is referred to as the "Metropolitan of Kief and Halicz," (Old Galicia), "and of the whole of Russia," (*ac totius Russiae*) not Ruthenia.

The *Magnus Dominis* bull recites among other things, that the Ruthenians "wanted to be received into the flock of the Roman Catholic Church, preserving at the same time, however, all the rights, the ceremonies of the divine office, the administration of the sacraments and all other things that had been referred to in the celebrated Council of Florence in the union of the Eastern and Western Churches, at the same time eliminating from their doctrines all heresies, condemning all schisms and all errors that were disapproved of by the holy Roman Catholic Church, and especially those which were the cause of separating them from Rome." It should be borne in mind that it was the addition of the "*Filioque*" to the creed that caused the schism of Photius and the final and great schism and separation of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1054. The Ruthenian decree of union, the *Magnus Dominis* bull, refers to itself as: "this decree of reception, union, adjunction, annexation, incorporation, permission and concession." Among the rights and sacraments preserved by the Ruthenians were the marriage of their priests. (before ordination), the right of the priest to confirm the children, which takes place immediately after baptism, also the right to their own liturgy, hierarchy, etc. In addition to these rites and privileges, the Ruthenians also retained the Russian Church cross and the Julian or Russian calendar, which is thirteen days behind ours. Their Christmas falls on our January 7th, and their New Year on the 14th. It seems rather significant that the Ruthenians steadfastly cling to the Russian cross, in view of the fact that this cross is not necessarily the cross of a Greek Christian. It was under this cross that the old believers, the *Raskolniks*, broke out in insurrection and opposed the "Polish" and "Latin" tendencies of the patriarch Nikon. It was under this cross that those who believed in the old customs, festivities and religion, revolted against serfdom, centralization and the sup-

pression of municipal life. This cross was in Red Russia long before the cross of the Latin Church. This "eight ends cross" is the cross the Ruthenian peasants revere, worship and love. Take this cross from them and you take away their religion. The Ruthenians can use the Roman Church cross and still be Greek Catholics if Greek Catholic were all they wanted to be. The Russian or Ruthenian Church cross never was a cross of the Roman Church. As the Ruthenians have keen eyes, a change in their rites, ceremonies and liturgy, or in their cross or calendar would be at once noticed and suggest to them a change in their religion, against which they would rebel, while a matter of placing cold type in the form of a papal bull, in Latin, a change in some doctrine, such as the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, etc., would not bother them. The average Ruthenian layman makes the test of his religion with the eyes rather than with the intellect. Notwithstanding the Magnus Dominis bull recites that the Ruthenians were to eliminate from their doctrines all heresies and errors that were disapproved of by the Roman Church "and especially those which were the cause of separating them (the Greek Church) from Rome," it seems this was only for the priests and for the future generations of the laity, and not for the then living laity, for the Ruthenians continued for many generations thereafter to use the old Greek Creed without the "Filioque."

Immediately after the arrival in Rome in November 1595, of the Ruthenian bishops and before the final ceremonies at the Vatican, the college of Cardinals discussed the terms of the union proposed by the former, and accepted the same in full. *The Ruthenians were not even asked to accept the Filioque in their Creed*, but the two bishops had to promise they would teach the Roman doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the "Father and the Son" as one principle. The latter promise was withheld from the documents and from the people. And while the Ruthenians were thus held or promised to teach that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, they were not required to say it unless a scandal should be prompted, especially if they should be among the Latin Catholics, or the occasion necessitated their professing the Roman Catholic faith. In the words of Pope Clement the VIII: "*Graeci credere tenentur etiam a Filio Spiritum Sanctum procedere, sed non tenentur*

pronunciare, nisi subesset scandalum, praesertim si degant inter latinos, aut necessitas postulare confitendi fidem catholicam quia tunc operteret etiam pronunciare." To assure his Russian subjects that they had surrendered nothing, except to accept the Pope as the supreme head of the Church, the Polish King Sigismund III issued a manifesto on May 29th, 1596, announcing the union, in which document, among other things, he said: "The bishops have nothing new from Rome; nothing adverse to your salvation; nothing new to your churchly rites; on the contrary all of your dogmas and rites remain intact and conform to the statutes of the Apostles, the Councils and the teaching of the holy Greek Fathers, whom you honor and whose feast days you observe."

The only open change sought to be made at the time was the adoption by the Uniates of the new or Gregorian calendar, which was agreed to at a secret preliminary conference at Warsaw, early in 1595, by the Polish Latin clergy and the Ruthenian Bishop Terlecki. Accordingly when the decree of union was published or became known, the opponents of the union had but two main grounds to work on in their opposition, namely: a refusal to accept the Pope as the supreme head of the Church, and a refusal to accept the Gregorian in place of the Julian calendar. A change of the calendar would mean to the laity a change of religion, while the naming of the Pope as their chief patriarch, or head, without any other change would perhaps not be noticed, so at a synod in October 1596, called to ratify and put in force the union on the part of the Uniates, the calendar change proposition was dropped, so that to this day the Julian calendar is retained, even by the Ruthenians in North America. It thus clearly appears that the principal parties to the union did not want the least sign to appear on the surface, of a change in anything to antagonize the laity, except the acceptance of the Patriarch of Rome, the Pope, as their head. The argument advanced in behalf of the latter proposition was that it was better to be under one head than under the four or five patriarchs of the East. Even in those early times it was predicted by many far-seeing opponents of the union, that the teachings or dogmas of the Church would gradually be Romanized, which has come true, although not in their time. The change was so gradual that it was hardly noticeable, at least by the laity, and now the

"Filioque," "Purgatory" and the other Roman doctrines are parts of their Creed. The Filioque and Purgatory were added to the Creed at the synod at Zamose in the summer of 1720, at a time when the Orthodox Church had ceased to exist in Poland, Galicia and Hungary. At this synod the Tridentine Creed of Pope Pius IV, (The bull "Injunctum nobis"), according to the prescribed form of Pope Urban VIII was recited and accepted and it was decreed that thenceforth the word "Filioque" be recited in the Symbol. Of this, the learned Bishop Pelecz in his aforementioned work on the union of the two churches said: "While the Ruthenians were not obliged to add the filioque to the Symbol, they nevertheless added it of their own free will, rightly maintaining, that there was no reason why they should not openly acknowledge their Creed." At the Zamose synod it was also decreed that the name of the Pope should be mentioned in their services, especially the masses, in clear, distinct words, so as to remove all appearances of duplicity. The constitution of Pope Gregory XIV, "Unigenitus," was also promulgated. At the time of the promulgation of the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, and of the Infallibility of the Pope, in the 50's and 70's of the century just past, the Church in Austria was so far subjected that it also accepted these new doctrines, but not without murmurs of disapproval, while the Ruthenians in Russia of whom there still remained one or two weak dioceses, rebelled and refused to accept the same, the last vestige of the union in Russia being wiped out in 1875.

Owing to the Ruthenians retaining their rights, rites, ceremonies, calendar, cross, etc., the laws of Austria from the time of Theresa Maria refer to them simply as Greek Catholics, not Graeco-Ruthenians or Ruthenians. There seems to be State reasons for calling them Greek Catholics. The Ruthenian laity undoubtedly would not take kindly to any other name than Greek Catholic. They would resent being called Roman Catholic, and "Ruthenian" Catholic they would not understand, but they do know they are Greek Catholic, and that their Church is the "Rusniak Church." However they are called "Ruthenian" in the religious world and Greek Catholic in the laws of Austria. The Privy Council of England, the highest judiciary in the British Empire, in an appeal that arose in 1901 out of a

Ruthenian Church land grant law suit, at Star, Alberta, in the Northwest Territory of Canada, in its decision or opinion said:

"The Orthodox Greek religion is proscribed in Galicia. For fear of Russian intrigues it is not tolerated there. Adherents of the Orthodox Church, as the Ruthenians or Little Russians originally were, are liable to be arrested and punished if they are suspected of an intention to revert to that faith. As a condition of being allowed to use their own liturgy and rites and to have their services conducted in the old Slavonic language, the Little Russians in Galicia are compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and so to accept those points of doctrine which the Roman Church holds and the Greek Church rejects. In other countries and other provinces which, in course of time, have been detached from the Greek Empire and have fallen under the sway of devout Roman Catholic sovereigns, something of the sort has happened. The result has been the creation of a composite Church, half Roman and half Greek; Roman to the educated priesthood, but Greek to the ignorant peasantry. Its proper style is the "Uniate Church," a title derived from its enforced union with Rome."

This tersely describes the Ruthenians and their situation. Their priests frankly will tell you they are Roman Catholics, but of the Ruthenian rites; while the ignorant laity will deny it, claiming they are pure Greek Catholics, the same as the Russian Church, "only our Church is under the Pope," they will add. That is the only difference the average layman knows.

The rights of the Ruthenian Church given under the 1595 decree of union are still maintained in Galicia, although as early as 1624 an effort was made by the Roman clergy of Poland with the approval of the king to extend the provisions of the Italo-Greek "Etsi Pastoralis" bull to the Ruthenians, in Galicia, which was strenuously resisted by the Ruthenians. Pope Urban VIII in a Breve of the date of February 7th, 1624, refused the request of the Polish authorities and clergy and reaffirmed the equal rights of the Ruthenians with the Latins. Again in 1802, under somewhat similar circumstances, Pope Pius VII reaffirmed these equal rights.

Of the seven original dioceses of the union, five returned to the Russian Orthodox Church after the reannexation of their

territory by Russia, the last change being in 1875, that of the diocese of Chelm. The two remaining dioceses were located in Galicia, one of which, the diocese of Przemyśl-Sanor-Sambor, was divided in two about 1872, the diocese of Stanislaus being the name given to the new diocese, making at present three Galician dioceses of the Ruthenian Church which have the original rights under the *Magnus Dominis* bull. It may here be added, that of the seven Greek bishops, who, with the metropolitan of Kiev, signed the terms and request to the Pope for the union, at the synod of Brescz, in June 1595, and all of whose names appear in the *Magnus Dominis* bull, the two Galician bishops, Michael Kopestynski, of Przemyśl, and Gideon Balaban, of Halicz-Lemberg refused to adhere to and accept the same upon its promulgation in the Ruthenian churches, which took place in October, 1596, the two bishops being supported in their refusal by Count Constantine of Ostrog, their civil master, who from the first strenuously opposed the union. The Uniates immediately took steps to take over to them individual churches in the two last named dioceses. Ruthenian vicars were appointed by the Latin bishops. In 1610 upon the death of Bishop Kopestynski of Przemyśl, both the Orthodox and the Uniates named successors to him, the Uniates naming Athanasius Krupecki (a Lithuanian by birth), who was born and reared a Latin, at one time being the tutor of Prince, afterward King Ladislaws IV. Krupecki became a Greek, joining the Order of St. Basil and shortly thereafter was named bishop by the king. He did not have a large following. The Orthodox named one Chlopecki their bishop. This condition of two bishops, one an Orthodox and the other a Uniate continued until the year 1692, when the Orthodox gave in, or rather were suppressed, since which time the diocese has been wholly Uniate. The Orthodox Lemberg diocese fared better, having no Uniate bishop until the year 1700, when it too became wholly Uniate. Lemberg was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan See in 1807, with jurisdiction over Galicia only. It is strange that the last dioceses to accept the union with Rome, namely, the Galician, are the last and only ones who still adhere to it. It would undoubtedly be different if Galicia were a part of Russia or Germany, rather than Austrian. In addition to the Galician dioceses, which are the only ones benefitted by the *Magnus Dominis* bull, there are at present

two Ruthenian dioceses in Hungary (Eperies and Munkacs) and one in Croatia (Koerves). The latter three dioceses with their bishops are under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Primate of Hungary, a Latin, the archbishop of Gran. The Galician Church is an independent hierarchy, standing directly under the Pope and the College of the Sacred Propaganda. This peculiar relation explains the confusion in the minds of church authorities concerning the proper standing of the Ruthenians, especially the Galician Ruthenians in North America. Have they more rights in America than the Hungarian Ruthenians?

With equal rights it was but natural that many controversies and conflicting matters arose in Galicia between the Ruthenians and the Latins, as to their conduct and relations to each other. Upon the suggestion of Pope Pius IX, in 1863, the Latin and Ruthenian bishops signed a "Concordia" which fixed the rule of conduct of the one rite toward the other, the Concordia recognizing the equality of the two.

Riot, violence and bloodshed marked the course of the union for many years after the promulgation of the *Magnus Dominis* bull. The Uniates aided by the king, Sigismund III, made great efforts to stamp out the schismatics, as the Orthodox were called. The latter in return joined with the Protestants in 1596 at Brescz and in council declared themselves free from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Rahosa. Bishop Kopystynski attended this Council. He was excommunicated by Rome and King Sigismund forbade his subjects to recognize him. Kopystynski paid no attention to this, administering not only to his own diocese but to those left without an Orthodox bishop. When the king's attention was called to this, and to similar conduct of Bishop Balaban of Lemberg, he again threatened them with the vengeance of the law, but without avail. The two Orthodox bishops remained steadfast. Wherever these two bishops could not go, the Orthodox people looked to the Wallachian and Moldavian Orthodox bishops for their chrism, priests, etc., and where these could not be secured, people allowed their children to die without priestly baptism, and themselves without absolution, etc., rather than submit to the union. These things largely contributed to the general uprising in Little Russia in 1654, heretofore referred to. It led to the killing of St. Josaphat, distinctly a saint of the Ruthenian Church, who did not

have to wait long to be canonized. In November 1623, a mob, with the sympathy of the entire city of Vitebsk back of it, wrecked the residence of John Josaphat Kuncewicz, the Uniate archbishop, because the latter had seized an Orthodox priest for preaching against the union in front of the cathedral. The archbishop at first hid from the mob, but finding he could hide no longer appeared to address and quiet them. He was immediately surrounded, set upon and hit over the head with a club and ax; his body was kicked and jumped upon. Believing they discovered him still breathing, the mob strangled him and then dragged his body to the banks of the Dwina, tied a stone to his neck and threw the body into the river. Thus died the Ruthenian martyr, and the name St. Josaphat is now given to many new Ruthenian churches in the United States, especially such as come directly under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops.

The name "Greek Catholic," it seems to us, is misused when applied to the Ruthenian Church. It leads the Ruthenian laity, with few exceptions, to believe they are what they are not, when in fact they are what they do not believe they are. As the test of the Roman Church is its doctrines or Creed and not rituals and ceremonies, the Ruthenians are Roman Catholics and not Greek Catholics; they are "Roman Catholics of the Ruthenian rites." It is this lack of understanding and other causes, such as the introduction of their home politics into America, that has caused so much trouble and so many church law suits among them. It was chiefly because of this misnomer "Greek Catholic," that whenever a Roman Catholic bishop of the Latin rite, in America, sought jurisdiction over them, they protested and rebelled. As a rule, they refuse to recognize a Latin bishop, at least in so far that they refuse to place the fee or deed of their Church property in his name or under his care. Their priests, in America, are mostly powerless in this matter and have to proceed cautiously for they have a Greek laity on the one side and Roman masters on the other. The laity do not seem to understand the ecclesiastical standing of their Church, its relation to Rome; they do not seem to understand they are "united, annexed, adjoined and incorporated" into the Roman Church; that they are not Greek but Roman, with Latinized Greek rites. In the United States the laity mostly know little of the *Ea Semper* bull. While this bull was issued more than

four years ago, in June 1907, and concerns only the Ruthenians in the United States, the Ruthenian bishop has not yet promulgated it in his churches or put it in full force among them; he is introducing it gradually. Priests are still permitted to confirm children and to perform marriages in violation of the bull. The married priests have not been recalled to Galicia, on the contrary, married priests with their families have since immigrated to the States and have been assigned to churches most outspoken against the terms of the *Ea Semper* bull. The fact that their priest is a married man with family, just over from the old country, is sufficient proof that the bull is not for them. However, in some places where the terms of the bull were sought to be enforced, law suits have arisen and in many instances caused splits, the dissenters organizing Russian churches and in one or two instances Presbyterian and Methodist churches.

That the *Ea Semper* bull faithfully carried out will eventually Latinize the Ruthenian Church in the United States can be gathered from its provisions. It is subdivided into four chapters comprising 34 articles. The first chapter relates to the bishop of the Ruthenian rites; the second chapter concerns the Ruthenian clergy; the third chapter, the conduct of the faithful Ruthenians; and the fourth chapter concerns the marriage between parties of the two rites, the Latin and the Ruthenian, and the baptism of their children. The Ruthenian bishop of the United States is required by the bull to reside in the city of Philadelphia. He receives his faculties from the local (Latin) bishop in whose diocese he happens to be and is to perform his episcopal functions. He cannot visit a diocese without first obtaining the consent of the local bishop. In other words, he cannot do an episcopal act in any diocese, not even make episcopal visitations of the Ruthenian churches, without first having or receiving permission of the local bishop. This practically makes him a vicar of the local Latin bishop in each diocese; a sort of vicar with bishoply character for the Ruthenians only. At present he has general faculties given him by the several bishops in whose diocese a Ruthenian Church which recognizes him is located, which faculties are revocable or subject to modification at the pleasure of the granting bishop. There are several so-called Hungarian Ruthenian churches that prefer the Latin bishop to the present Ruthenian bishop and have nothing in

common with the latter. Only as late as August 24, 1911, in order to secure a new incorporation of "Saints Peter and Paul Little Russian Church of Jersey City," which church has had its measure of trouble, Bishop Ortynsky signed himself as "Vicar General." Under the New Jersey law governing the incorporation of Roman churches the Roman Catholic bishop of the local diocese, his vicar, and the local priest must sign the articles of incorporation, together with two laymen trustees appointed by the former three. In this instance the articles of incorporation were signed by the Rt. Rev. John J. O'Connor, bishop of Newark diocese, by his for that purpose appointed vicar Bishop Ortynsky, and by Father Ulitski, the local priest, besides the two appointed lay trustees. In the articles the church is designated as "the Roman Catholic Church known as Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Jersey City, N. J." It is predicted that when this fact that Bishop Ortynsky has at last been compelled to acknowledge himself the vicar of local Roman bishops becomes generally known among the Ruthenian laity more trouble will follow. Verily the American Ruthenians are not treated as being, "received, united, adjoined, annexed and incorporated with Rome," but rather as being "absorbed by Rome," in the same manner as the Italo-Greeks were. Besides this we have the anomaly of a Roman Catholic church, in Jersey City, in which all Roman Catholics cannot worship, the Latins being forbidden under the *Ea Semper* bull.

Among the many conditions laid down by the *Ea Semper* bull, which are infringements of the rights of the Galician Church, one provides that all titles of church property are to be consigned to the local bishop or to trustees of whom he approves. The Ruthenian bishop has nothing to say about this. The Ruthenian priests are appointed and removed by the local bishop, who simply reports the appointment or removal to the Ruthenian bishop. At present however, the general faculties given the Ruthenian bishop by the local diocesan bishops, permits the former to name and remove the priests, and these faculties are also subject to revocation or modification at any time by the local bishop. A Ruthenian may go to confession and partake of the sacraments to a Latin priest, even if there is a Ruthenian priest at hand, but a Latin cannot go to a Ruthenian priest. Ruthenians are at liberty to go over to the Latin rite, but not

vice versa. While marriages between Ruthenians and Latins are in no wise restricted, the Latin party is bound under all circumstances to preserve his or her rite. The Ruthenian wife is free to adopt the rite of her Latin husband, and when once adopted cannot go back to the Ruthenian until after the death of her husband. The marriage ceremony in the case of a Latin husband and a Ruthenian wife must be performed by a Latin priest. In Galicia it is just the reverse under the Concordia of 1863 heretofore referred to; there the parish priest of the bride, whether Latin or Ruthenian, performs the ceremony. If the man is Ruthenian and the woman Latin, under the *Ea Semper* bull, the parties are free to take their choice of a priest, Latin or Ruthenian—the woman usually has her way. The children are to be baptized in the Latin rite if the father is Latin and the mother Ruthenian; if the mother is Latin and the father Ruthenian, the parents are free to have the children baptized either Latin or Ruthenian. In this also the woman generally has her way. The children are Latin or Ruthenian according to the rite of their baptism. These conditions and other restrictions, such as the rule that priests in America shall be celibates, and that they shall be educated in Latin seminaries if there is no Ruthenian seminary, will have a tendency soon to Latinize the American Ruthenian Church.

This tendency, it seems, was realized in Galicia before it was in America. As early as June 26th, 1908, a Ruthenian clerical member of the Austrian Parliament, Doctor Markow, in a speech delivered in the latter body, denounced the *Ea Semper* bull. Among other things he said,—we are giving the translation exactly as it was made for us by a Ruthenian priest. "Our enemies, the Roman authorities, are not treating the Ruthenians fairly; they have made a beginning in America; the Roman bull forbids the marriage of the Ruthenian priests; there also they must be educated in Latin seminaries; although his rite is the Greek-Slavish, the poor emigrant must take the Roman Catholic. The American Greek bishop has no rights as such; he has no right to appoint or remove priests. He is absolutely dependent on the Roman bishops,—an ordinary servant of the latter. It is a work of extinguishing the autonomy of the Ruthenian Church; an attempt to destroy the liberty of our Church. It seems to be the Roman Pontiff's desire to exterminate the Ruthe-

nian Greek Catholic Church, by changing it to the Roman rite." It is such speeches as Dr. Markow's and articles along the same line in their newspapers, that have caused thousands of Ruthenians to attach themselves to the Russian and other churches.

The provisions of the American *Ea Semper* bull were taken largely from the Italo-Greek "*Etsi Pastoralis*" bull of Benedict XIV, issued May 26th, 1742, and from the "*Demandatum coelitus*" bull of the same Pope, dated December 24th, 1743, for the Greek Melchites of the Turkish dominion. During the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries many inhabitants of the Turkish peninsula, mostly Albanians, emigrated to southern Italy. The original Greek Church in Italy had never separated from the Roman Church, in fact, no schismatic church was allowed in Italy, in those early days. These Greek immigrants from Turkey, especially after the fall of Constantinople, were conceded certain rights and privileges by the Popes Leo X, Paul III, and Julius III. These concessions were withdrawn by Pius IV and later in 1742, their final status was fixed by Benedict XIV in his *Etsi Pastoralis* bull, and the Greeks in Italy were placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops, being allowed however, to retain their Greek rites and ceremonies. The *Etsi Pastoralis* bull among other things regulates the intermarriage between Greeks and Latins to the later's advantage, including the baptism, confirmation and status of their children, and the like. It also gives them Greek bishops with visitorial rights only; whatever faculties these Greek bishops have they receive from the local bishops. At that time, 1742, there were about 100,000 such Greeks in Italy, and notwithstanding their well known prolific tendencies and the constant immigration to them from Albania and other Turkish and Oriental countries, to-day only about 25,000 are still adhering to the Greek rites. From a Roman standpoint, this speaks well for the author of the *Etsi Pastoralis* bull. The Italo-Greeks had to accept the inevitable. The effect of the *Demandatum coelitus* bull on the Melchites was somewhat, but in a lesser degree, the same; the Melchites, however, were not in a Roman country surrounded by Roman churches and influence. The *Demandatum* bull forbade those of the Greek rites going over to the Latin while the *Etsi Pastoralis* bull allowed it. The *Ea Semper* bull also allows Ruthenians to go over to the Latin rites, the only restriction being, that it

forbids Latin priests making attempts to induce Ruthenians to leave their own rites and become attached to the Latin; a Latin priest doing this falls under Apostolic censure *ferendae sententiae*.

Will the Ea Semper bull do to the American Ruthenians what the Etsi Pastoralis bull did to the Italo-Greeks? In Canada where they have not even the protection of a vicarial bishop of their own, their Latinization will go much faster or they will return to the Russian Church, or become independent. Already there is an independent Greek Church there. The latter body is growing, having several congregations. It has the moral support of the Presbyterian Church back of it.

For a restoration and preservation of their Greek rites the American Ruthenians will, it seems, eventually have to look to the Russian Church. With the children of Ruthenian mothers and Latin fathers compelled to be Latins; with Ruthenians free to join the Latin Church but Latins forbidden to join the Ruthenian; with the Latin baptized children of Ruthenian fathers and Latin mothers adjudged Latins, how can the Ruthenian Church survive many generations in America? It must look to Ruthenian immigration rather than to its American born increase for strength and perpetuation. And when Ruthenian immigration will cease, it having only about 4,000,000 Ruthenians to draw from, the Church in America will decline, simply for the reason that it will not be allowed its own where there is Latin blood mixed with it. In this barter between the Ruthenian and the Latin as laid down by the Ea Semper bull, the result will eventually be the same as that brought about by the Italo-Greek bull; the Ruthenian giving everything drop by drop to the Latin and receives nothing in return. It is a slow process but it is sure.

With the great Russian Orthodox Church it is otherwise. This Church has a great future before it in America. While the Ruthenian Church, no matter where located, clings to the Old Slavonic language, the Russian Church adopts the language of the country in which it is located, which means that eventually it will adopt the English language for its services in America. Already it has a complete English edition of its service book. Will the American Ruthenians of the future be permitted to have their services, including their masses, in English? The children of foreign speaking parents quickly forget their

mother tongue in America. Seldom do we find the second generation of such children capable of fluently speaking and understanding the language of their grandparents, and when they of Ruthenian ancestry cease to understand the Old Slavonic ritual, will they be obliged to go to the Latin Church or lose their chances of heaven by excommunication, or will Papal authority be given them to conduct their rituals in English? Should such authority not be given, and it seems likely that it will not, will they prefer the Latin to the Russian Church, the Church of their early forefathers, in which the time-tested and sacred Greek liturgy of the early Christian centuries has been and is kept in its purity, in substance if not in language, and where this beautiful liturgy will be sung in the English language, permitting all English speaking people to understand and join?

And here we may be pardoned for injecting a few words concerning the Russian Church, also so little understood in America.

With the rest of the Orthodox Greek Church the Russian Church stands on firm historical grounds and needs no tradition to maintain its claim and position. The Eastern Church recognizes but one head, Jesus Christ; it has no vicarial head on earth. True, it has governing bodies and patriarchs, but no one supreme head or vicar of Christ. Many believe the Czar of Russia is the head of the Russian Church. He, being the State, is the head of the Church in Russia only so far as a State is and can be the head of a Church. The law of the land is the head of the Church in the United States; the only question that may arise is, are the laws constitutional? The Czar has no spiritual authority, that is, priestly authority or functions. He goes to his devotions, worship, etc., and partakes of the sacraments and receives his absolutions from the priest just as does his humblest subject. The Russians, however, look upon the Czar as the protector of the Greek religion, and for this they are thankful, as they should be.

The Russian Church, while teaching that it alone is the true Church, excluding all others, even the Roman Church, does not condemn those outside its own body. It leaves that for the final judgment day. The well known Russian theological writer, A. S. Khomiakoff, in his work, "Russia and the English Church," vol. I, p. 194, comments on this as follows: "Inasmuch as the earthly and visible Church is not the fulness and completeness

of the whole Church which the Lord has appointed to appear at the final judgment of all creation, she acts and knows only within her own limits; and (according to the words of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, I Cor. V. v, 12 & 13), does not judge the rest of mankind, and only looks upon those as excluded, that is to say, not belonging to her, who exclude themselves. The rest of mankind, whether alien from the Church, or united to her by ties which God has not willed to reveal to her, she leaves to the judgment of the great day. The Church on earth judges for herself only, according to the grace of the Spirit, and the freedom granted her through Christ, inviting also the rest of mankind to the unity and adoption of God in Christ; but upon those who do not hear her appeal she pronounces no sentence, knowing the command of her Saviour and Head, not to judge another man's servant."

The Russian Church, with the whole Greek Orthodox Church, has no general doctrinal tests beyond the Creed itself. Its Faith consists of divers Articles, which one must believe and confess; of which some are principal and so necessary to salvation, that without the knowledge of them one cannot be saved any more than one can live without the principal members of the body, as the head, the heart and the like. To these principal articles of Faith belong the mystery of the Holy Trinity; the mission of the Son of God into the world; our justification by His death; God's mercy to fallen man, and His grace leading to repentance, and the like. All the Articles of Faith are contained in the Bible, none outside. The position of the Church on the writings of the holy fathers is that they are of great use for explanatory purposes, for instructions serviceable for holy living, or else for canons and rules for the discipline and good order of the Church and of the whole Christian community. Of traditions it holds: "Neither the writings of the holy fathers, nor the traditions of the Church are to be confounded or equalized with the Word of God." Compare this with a tenet or creed of another Church: "I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions," and so forth, and "I also admit Holy Scripture, etc." Notice, traditions must be *steadfastly* admitted and embraced while Holy Scripture need only be admitted (not embraced), and then only in a restricted sense, the said Church being made the only inter-

preter of the Word of God. With the Russian Church the Bible is the rule and corrective of ecclesiastical traditions. It must not be understood that the Russian Church rejects ecclesiastical traditions, on the contrary it clings more to them than the Protestant Churches. However, it does not admit and embrace anti-Biblical traditions, or make them a test for salvation.

The Greek Orthodox Church has never been bothered with modernism, with new dogmas, doctrines, and the like. It avoids as much as possible definitions. While the West is always trying to define the manner of the change in the Sacraments, the East says it is a mystery, and that all definitions or pretended explanations are nothing but attempts to penetrate into the mystery, and that they overthrow the essence of a Sacrament. The East considers religion a matter of faith and not of speculation and dogmatisation; and holds that when it can be reasoned out it is no longer divine, but human. The East has never made a selection, so to speak, of what it will accept or reject and it never tries to define what it does not believe. It keeps the pure, simple faith and tone of the early fathers; the building up of the service in the words and language of Scripture, without rigidity and exactness of language, when human language is felt to be inadequate and unnecessary. It holds firmly to the Bible and the Nicene Creed. Anything outside of these is not essential.

Of salvation, the goal of all churches and religions, it "knows nothing by outward means, nor any sufferings whatever that may be, except those of Christ; nor bargaining with God, as in the case of a man buying himself off by good works," and the like. "There is," it teaches, "no need of any other kind of purification when the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin."

"Mutual prayer of the dead for the living, of the living for the dead, and of both for the whole Church, is to the Russian the bond which links together the Church in one Communion of Saints."

In conclusion—when the time comes that the English speaking Ruthenian, who no longer understands his Slavonic ritual will have to go into another Church, which will he be apt to choose? Will it be the Latin Church, the Protestant or the English speaking Russian? As they are in heart and soul Greek Catholic, the answer is not difficult.

In his novel, "The Foreigner" the Canadian author, Ralph

Connor, truly portrays the Ruthenians under the name of Galicians and Russians, showing their weaknesses and their latent moral strength, their devotion to their religion and its ceremonies and their submission to priestly rule, and depicting how, under proper guidance, surroundings and influences they throw off their weaknesses, superstition and priest rule, and while still devoted to their God, show the moral strength of their nature by remaining loyal to each other, loyal to the nation and its laws and become good citizens of their adopted country.

And when he leaves the Roman Church, whether of the Ruthenian or Latin rite, the Ruthenian will cease to be a Ruthenian, but not a Little Russian.

Syracuse, N. Y.

ARTICLE VI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I. IN ENGLISH. BY PROFESSOR J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

"Concerning Natural Religion," is the theme of "The Dudleian Lecture," delivered by Dr. W. W. Fenn of Harvard Theological Seminary, and published in *The Harvard Theological Review* (Oct.) The Dudleian Lectureship provides for a discourse concerning "natural religion as it is commonly called and understood by divines and learned men." Natural theology has had its day, thinks Dr. Fenn, except as it has survived in the theory of evolution, which strongly affirms the idea of order in the natural world. This order necessarily presupposes a determining intelligence back of it. But there are serious obstacles back of this argument. Over against this Dr. Fenn asserts that there is in the world to-day the actual presence "of a genuine, although unconventional, religious life wholly independent of ancient forms however tender and sacred as well as of historic tradition however uplifting." This religion has no language and no creed. It is rather the feeling of awe and of mystery awakened in man, especially in the student of science, as he contemplates the sublime order of the universe. This unvarying order begets within the student also a sense of confidence. "No devotee ever offered his prayer with half the confidence that a modern engineer constructs a bridge." Nature may not be distinctly animated by a purpose which directs its course towards the highest ends, but it is "amenable to the ideals of man and may be guided by him toward their realization. No investigator has the least fear that his researches will unlock a force fatal to the highest life of man. On the contrary, he is confident that the unmeasured resources of the universe may all be utilized for human well-being. In this perfect trust and confidence is there not something corresponding to the trust which the old-time worshipper reposed in his God? The order of the universe may not lend itself as of old to the argument of natural theology, but it does far more, it inspires natural religion in the breast of man." This natural religion shows itself in friendli-

ness and devotion to truth and humanity. Dr. Fenn has made something out of his case, but we are impressed anew with the utter insufficiency of natural religion to satisfy the yearnings of the soul which cries after the living God, as revealed in the Scriptures and in Christ.

In the same number of the *Harvard Review* appears a lecture on "The Nature of Prayer," by Mary Whiton Calkins of Wellesly College. Of prayer for material good, she says, "I hold that prayers for concrete and individual good are inconsistent alike with the deterministic hypothesis underlying all science, with any absolute philosophy, and with the forms of theism which conceives of God's purposes as eternal. Such prayers are, in fact, irrational forms of the essentially reasonable expression of the consciousness of our dependence upon God and of His interest in our concerns." This view of prayer, we hold to be flatly in contradiction of the teachings of the Bible, and rests upon a mechanical theory of the universe, from which personality is practically excluded. I wonder whether this good lady could sincerely pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." "Answer to prayer is, essentially, the recognition of the human by the divine self, the reaction of the divine on the human, the response of God's love to human love and trust. In a word, God's answer to prayer is God's consciousness of the human self as turning to God. The conviction that prayer is, in this sense, answered is indeed an inherent factor in prayer." Could anything be more vague and unsatisfactory than this definition. Prayer is some kind of a psychological play between God and man. It is altogether subjective. "God's consciousness of the human self as turning to God"—this, it is said, is God's answer to prayer. How can this be true? This is no answer at all. It is simply the divine knowledge of human need.

"The English Bible in English Literature" is discussed in the *October Review and Expositor* by Prof. J. C. Metcalf. He quotes Huxley as saying: "Consider the great historical fact that, for three centuries, this book has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history; that it has become the national epic of Britain, and is as familiar to noble and simple from John-o'-Groat's House to Land's End, as Dante

and Tasso once were to the Italians; that it is written in the noblest and purest English, and abounds in exquisite beauties of pure literary form; and finally it forbids the veriest hind who never left his village to be ignorant of the existence of other countries and other civilizations, and of a great past stretching back to the farthest limits of the oldest civilizations of the world." "Literature," says Morley, "consists of all the books—and they are not so many—where moral truth and human passions are touched with a certain eagerness, sanity and attraction of form." To this the author would add as a criterion of literature, "Any book is literature which makes a lasting appeal to the emotions." "Considered as literature the Bible belongs to the 'literature of power' appealing as it does to the emotions, the imagination, and the will, more directly than to mere intellect." At least four qualities in the English Bible make this literary appeal. First, the Bible is a book of strong, simple, concrete words, which convey to the reader a sense of reality and absolute sincerity. Fully ninety-three per cent. of these words are of Anglo-Saxon origin and come very close to the primal emotions. Secondly, the Bible is a book of pictures. The truth is presented through parable, allegory, symbol. Thirdly, the Bible is a book of wonderful rhythms in the purely lyric parts and of a pleasing cadence in many prose passages, which fall upon the ear like solemn music. Fourthly, the Bible is a book of experiences, a pre-eminently personal book. Such a book has naturally profoundly impressed itself upon the minds of great men, and deeply affected their thought, taste and language. Ruskin declared that the most precious and most essential part of his education came from the Bible. Matthew Arnold said neither Shakespeare or Milton had given him as much delight as Homer and Isaiah. Macaulay speaks of the Bible as a "book which, if everything else in our language should perish, would alone suffice to show the whole extent of its beauty and power." Sir Walter Scott called the Bible the one book. Milton, Spenser, Shakespeare, Bunyan and Tennyson were well versed in Scripture and derived thought, information and expression from the Bible. And this is true of all great living writers. Wherever the Bible is cherished it "will continue to ennoble the emotions, enrich the imagination, and mould the life of individuals and nations: its language will live in the ear like music that can

never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells; it will remain a part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness."

J. Oscar Boyd discusses in an interesting way "The Character and Claims of the Roman Catholic English Bible" in the October *Princeton Review*... He contrasts the English Protestant Bible and the English Catholic Bible in three points—the canon, the text, and the version. The only English Bible authorized by the Roman Catholic Church is that translation which was made by certain teachers of the English Seminary at Douai in Belgium in the 16th century, and hence called the Douai version. As to the canon, the Catholic Council of Trent in 1546 declared that the Old Testament apocryphal books were inspired and hence belong to the Bible. The Protestants exclude these books because they lack the authenticity and antiquity of those which are included in the Protestant Bible. The text of the Catholic Bible is based principally on the Vulgate or old Latin version made by Jerome, and hence is very corrupt. The Catholic Church tolerates no biblical criticism of any kind, and hence her Bible is unaffected by modern scholarship or discovery. The gross absurdities which a corrupt text produces in translation is illustrated by passages in the Psalter, e. g., "Thou makest it soft with showers, Thou blessest the springing thereof" appears in the Douai as follows: "Inebriate her rivers; in her drops so shall she rejoice springing," Ps. 65: 10. "A mountain of God is the mountain of Bashan," reads thus: "A mountain crudded as cheese, a fat mountain," Ps. 68: 15.

The most persuasive and characteristic difference between the two English Bibles is in the motives and methods of their version, that is, in the actual work of translating into the English tongue their respective originals. The Douai Bible is the book of a sect. Dogmatic considerations mar it throughout.

"Romanism a Plagiarism on Paganism," is the title of a striking article by W. Dallmann in the October number of the *Theological Quarterly* of the Missouri Synod. It is somewhat in the nature of a retort to certain assertions made recently by leading Catholics. Father Vaughan of London, says that it was "the genius of Protestantism to invent a would-be religion."

Cardinal Logue "never could see how any intelligent Christian could oppose Catholicism." Archbishop Ryan claims that the "Catholic faith is superior to all creeds." Mr. O'Brian said to Knights of Columbus, "Protestantism has run its course and served its purpose." In the sixteen pages of the article are probably one hundred authentic quotations from ancient and modern writers setting forth the superstitions and heathen practices of Roman Catholics. Art and architecture are corrupt in Cathedrals with the mingling of mythology and Scripture, of gods and saints. "In Roman sepulchral inscriptions God is again Jupiter." "When Jesuits went to India, they stained their bodies and swore that they were Brahmins, who could trace their pedigree to the god Brahma." The Buddhists in Thibet have many customs and ceremonies similar to those in vogue among Romanists; and their Dalai Lama is infallible just as is the Pope. The heathen of India and the Mohammedans use a rosary. The Persians believe in a purgatorial fire. The Hindus have faith in holy water, just as the ancient Greeks and Romans did, at whose temple doors was a vessel filled with holy water with which the worshipper sprinkled himself. The adoration as relics comes from the heathen. The Romanists have in divers places about 150 "true nails" of the cross and enough wood of the "true cross" to load a ship. There are twelve heads of John the Baptist and twenty bodies, eighteen bodies of St. Paul, six heads of Ignatius Martyr, sixty fingers of St. Jerome, forty holy shrouds, and 700 thorns from the sacred crown.

In the same *Quarterly* is a continuation of the presentation of "The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary" by Louis Wessel. As a popular exposition this commentary is hard to excel. We hope it will appear in book form.

In the November "*Theological Magazine*" of the Ohio Synod, the Rev. George Dillman makes the usual plea for higher salaries for ministers. Skilled mechanics, such as bricklayers, steam-fitters, plumbers, tile-layers, receive an average of over four dollars a day. The average pay of ministers in the United States, according to government statistics is \$663 per year. In the German Iowa Synod it is \$550, and in the Joint Synod of Ohio \$596. Surely this is poor pay.

II. IN GERMAN. BY PROFESSOR ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, A.M.

The trial of Pastor Jatho, which has now become world famous (*vide Lutheran Observer* August 18th and 25th, 1911), has not only had vastly important consequences for religious thought in Germany in forcing the issue on the problem of State-Churchism, but has also had its bearing upon current theological thought. It has operated as a criterion and standard of measurement. It has served beautifully to show the theological aims of many of those who have always been classed with that general group called "liberal theologians," but whose position has never been more clearly defined. They are easily discernible now by their attitude towards Jatho's theology. This criterion, be it remarked, must not be confused with their attitude towards Jatho's sentence. For many who strongly repudiate Jatho's theological views, nevertheless stoutly protest against his conviction and deposition from office. But in their very protest against the decision of Jatho's judges they are forced to declare themselves and to state their attitude towards his religious creed and this has made manifest their relative theological position and the degree of "liberal" quality attaching to their views.

In no case has this been clearer or more interesting than in that of Professor Harnack. It has been very noticeable that in recent years Harnack has been steadily moving towards the right. A generation ago he was the acknowledged leader of the extreme left, and his views of a generation ago are still of immense influence in America. His denial of the Virgin Birth, his questionable differentiation between the gospel of Jesus and that of the apostles, his chronology of the New Testament writings, and his contention that the pure religion of Jesus Christ was corrupted with Greek philosophy through the formulation of ecclesiastical dogmas,—these and other views of his led men to regard him as the arch-enemy of traditional and conservative theology. His penetrative historical insight, his profound learning, his power of presentation, and his audacious criticism made him for many years the peerless dictator among advanced German theologians. But the days of Harnack's leadership among the liberal theologians are past. It would be impossible to-day for any production of his to produce the stir that was produced a decade ago by his *Wesen des Christentums* or a quarter of a century ago by his

History of Doctrine. Younger spirits have superseded him in his chieftaincy. The school of the religio-historical method has gone beyond Harnack. And at the same time Harnack has himself made visible advances in the direction of more conservative views. Some of his former friends and admirers have been forced to take issue with him. He now claims that both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were written by Luke the Physician, and he dates them as early as the most conservative New Testament critic. He even holds to the essential historicity and authenticity of the Gospel of John as based primarily upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. Along the whole line of scientific Biblical criticism he has sounded the call for a retreat from the radical positions of the near past.

This he expressed in clear and unmistakable accents when he made his recent visit to England to deliver an address in London at the auspicious opening of the Associated Council of Churches of the British and German Empires for Fostering Friendly Relations between the Two Peoples. On that occasion he remarked in passing: "The external criticism of the New Testament, by which I mean the criticism of the literary character of the New Testament writings, will continue to proceed as it is now proceeding in the direction of more conservative conclusions. It will come to be recognized more and more generally that the literary criticism of fifty, forty, and thirty years ago was entirely too radical and employed principles and methods which to-day must be rejected..... Primitive Christianity must be investigated in its relation to other religions and that will be the authoritative method of the future. But by this I do not mean to say that our appreciation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is limited by the influence of contemporary heathen civilization or that the proclamation of Paul and the first apostles was conditioned by the intellectual culture of the Greeks in that day. The life of Jesus and the apostles must be brought into relation with the Judaism of their day. The influence of the Greek spirit was not felt until the second generation of early Christianity."

Harnack has refused to follow the lead of the newest arrival in theological method. He has manifested a more friendly attitude towards the dogmas of the Church. He has shown in recent years an increased activity in the interests of practical re-

ligion and social Christianity. He now writes and speaks with a higher degree of religious warmth than he was wont. These facts and others justify the inference that Professor Harnack, while still far from being orthodox, is yet undergoing a decided change in his theological attitude. This change is towards conservatism and across the grain of current liberal theology. This is an unfashionable direction but that it is his good right thus to move in his search for truth, none will deny though most will refuse to follow. That this change in Harnack is a fact and not a mere inference is made very plain by recent happenings in connection with the case of Pastor Jatho.

When the sentence against Jatho was announced there was quite naturally not a little indignation among the liberal-minded theological students, especially in Berlin. Now Harnack was himself a member of the judicial college that convicted Jatho. And although he was only an alternate member and did not sit on Jatho's case, yet he was closely enough identified with the tribunal to feel himself called upon to devote one of his lecture hours to a comment on this burning question. Unknown to the Professor his words were stenographically recorded and published in full in the daily papers. Thus a little controversy was precipitated.

Harnack in his lecture defended the judicial college as an institution. In this he took issue with a large host of his theological comrades. He insisted that the very essence of a State-Church demands control of doctrine and discipline against heterodoxy. He strongly asserted against Sohm's program of congregational polity that the Church as a whole must be thoroughly equipped with the means of defending its essentials and of securing its doctrinal position. The new disciplinary tribunal therefore does no violence to the individual conscience but really denotes progress in the matter of doctrinal discipline. This is indispensable. Harnack suggested slight changes in the tribunal as now constituted and held that the judges should not be obliged to decide categorically for or against the accused but should be allowed to render a sentence of "abuse" and trust to the moral effect of such a sentence. He said that the case of Jatho should never have been brought before such a tribunal because the law creating the tribunal was of later origin than the complaints against the Cologne pastor. It seemed like making

the disciplinary system retroactive. This last view is widely regarded as inconsistent with what Harnack had said before concerning the necessity of doctrinal discipline for the stability of a State-Church. In conclusion the Professor criticised Jatho's doctrine of God and of Christ. The God of Christianity, he said, dare never be identified with "mere natural law" nor with the "spirit of evolution." Nor dare the Person of Christ be considered a mere subsidiary matter as Jatho contends. Our pulpit message must take its beginning from Christ's Person and must show that His Person has an "invariable" position and a permanent significance in the Christian Church.

The publishing of this lecture aroused more interest than the average publication among the host that appeared upon the case. Jatho at once replied to Harnack through an open letter in the newspapers. He asserted that Christ's position in the Church has not been "invariable" and that Harnack's whole life-work has been to show the variations of Christ's role in history. It is a ridiculous inconsistency for Harnack now to speak of an "invariable Christ." Jatho claimed that he had only drawn the consequences of Harnack's own teachings. Harnack had taught him to give up entirely the Christology of the Ancient Church and the Christ of Luther and Jatho had simply gone the next step and resolved everything into absolute subjectivism. Since Jesus himself has nothing of authority to say about God we are all dependent solely upon the inner light. "We doubters, you and I, since we have given up the old Christology can certainly no longer seek for any objective truth concerning God."

Jatho's claim to be a disciple of Harnack was embarrassing to the master and however reluctant to continue the discussion he was forced to make a further statement. This he did in an open letter addressed to Jatho and published in *Die Christliche Welt*. He denies Jatho's assertion that they both hold the same view of Christ. He accuses the Cologne pastor of a lack of historical perspective. For Jatho there seem to be but two alternatives: Jesus the God, or Jesus the human being in search of God. But a glance into history shows that there is another possibility besides naive metaphysics and absolute subjectivism. The historic Christ is compassed neither by the ancient doctrine of the two natures nor by Jatho's hyper-modern theosophy of the inner light. And it is in this connection that Harnack

makes the highly significant statement that history shows that "God has sent us teachers and prophets, and advancing beyond them He has sent us a Man who has become our Lord and Christ, not because we ourselves have made Him so but because God Himself has made Him so... The original apostolic conception which is identical with His own testimony concerning Himself was that He is Messiah and Lord. This is the judgment of faith that I have in mind when I speak of His "unchangeable" and permanent significance, and this article of faith represents the fundamental basis of all Christologies.... That the State-Church binds her teachers to the proclamation of Jesus as Lord is not merely a matter of law but is necessary from the very nature of Christianity." These are very remarkable utterances from Harnack and not easy to reconcile with his books and his teaching from the desk. We can afford to overlook in this connection the rest of Harnack's defense against Jatho, Jatho's second reply, the echo of the debate as it resounds now between Wernle and Jatho, and the many interesting comments on the "Jatho-Harnack controversy." Of sole interest to us here is the light that the incident throws upon Harnack's theological and ecclesiastical position.

The discussion with Jatho was manifestly embarrassing to Harnack, for he is not accustomed to defend the conservatism of his views, nor apparently does he desire to be regarded as a reactionary. That he should be obliged after these many years of energetic activity as theological teacher to defend himself before the whole theological world against the charge of inconsistency in logic and retrogression in doctrinal position can be anything but pleasant. To find in his age that his own teaching has brought forth such as Jatho who not only deny that there was anything exceptional in the Person of Jesus but even deny the living God, must be almost mortifying. On the other hand it seems almost anomalous that Adolph Harnack for whom several decades ago nothing seemed too liberal, should now be advocating disciplinary proceedings against false doctrine and should insist so stoutly upon maintaining Jesus in His "unchangeable" position of "Lord and Christ,"—a position which God gave Him, a position which He claimed for Himself, and a position which He has always occupied in the religious thought of the primitive apostles as well as in present-day Christianity.

But it is simply another unmistakable indication that Harnack has withdrawn from his untenable subjectivism and has approached nearer to the position of traditional faith. It also shows that Harnack is engaged in the earnest search for historical truth and is open to conviction as are all men of real scientific instinct. In so far the incident with Jatho has been refreshing. For now the whole weight of Harnack's authority as a leader among theologians may be claimed for the objective truth of the divine revelation in the Person of Jesus Christ. And but for his philosophic pre-suppositions which lead him to reject all mysticism and metaphysics we might hope for even a much closer approach to the traditional theology of the Church.

The sharp division of theological party lines that followed upon the trial of Pastor Jatho has brought Germany suddenly and squarely to face a problem of immense significance. The problem has been looming up for more than one decade without, however, pressing for an answer. But now it is clear that the issue will soon be forced and current theological literature manifests the fact that cool minds and serious heads have begun to apply themselves diligently to the solution of the difficult question. We refer to the weighty problem of separating Church and State or at least of readjusting their relations. Jatho's case has not been the sole instrument in forcing this problem upon the notice of the public. There have been several other cases of disciplinary proceeding recently that have attracted wide attention and served to continue the stir of ecclesiastical waters. The trial of Pastor Heydron quite recently before the consistorium of Kiel has presented the problem very forcibly to Schleswig-Holstein. And even now Gottfried Traub, pastor of Dortmund, in the Prussian province of Westphalia, is standing trial before the consistorium of Breslau. Traub was one of those who busied themselves very vigorously last summer on Jatho's behalf, one of the two persons who argued the defense before the judicial college in Berlin. His remarks on that occasion were imprudently bitter and he is now reaping the fruits of this indiscretion and others.

But this rapid succession of disciplinary proceedings against heterodoxy has only been the precipitating occasion and not the comprehensive cause of the present discussion concerning the

separation of Church and State. The real cause is to be found in a combination of other factors in the present-day religious life of Germany. Such are (1) the growing threat of ultramontanist to engulf the German Empire politically and culturally and thus to put an end to the progress of modern civilization; (2) the vast strength of that modern pietistic movement which manifests itself in great numbers of brotherhoods, fellowship meetings, and conventicles, none of which are kindly disposed towards State-Churchism and many of which have formally broken with the Church; (3) the aversion of certain classes of thought to all traditional religion, which receives its best expression in the League of Monists, an organization which has recently shown itself capable of continued vigorous existence even apart from the guiding personality of Ernst Haeckel; (4) the ominous swelling tide of the social democrats, now no longer entirely insensible to all religious perception but still and forever in deadly opposition to the State-Church; (5) the numerous withdrawals of membership from the Church, a movement which gathers force from each new irruption in religious circles; (6) the recent serious conflicts in various quarters concerning the religious instruction in the schools; (7) the continued complaints of dissenters and Jews; and (8) not least of all, the widening gap between the orthodox and the liberals on the catheder, on the pulpit, and in the pew.

The situation calls loudly for some readjustment of ecclesiastical polity and organization. The dissatisfaction is deep-seated and general and refuses this time to be hushed. The present conditions are well-nigh intolerable and all parties are agreed upon the need of some reform. Already practical suggestions are appearing in print. Not long ago, while excitement was still running high, there suddenly appeared upon the calendar of the upper house of the Prussian legislature the proposition to "separate Church and State." But it is generally recognized that to do this suddenly would be rash and dangerous. Now that the high heat of the immediate controversy over Jatho has subsided somewhat the confused mass of hasty proposals is found to have melted and evaporated. Now more deliberate pens have taken up the problem involved. For that a real problem is involved in such a case as that of Jatho,—a problem of vast and vital importance to Church and State alike,—none will deny.

The discussion has begun with coolness and circumspection on all sides, for the Germans have learned the lesson of history in Scotland, England and France, and are determined that there shall be no sudden breach or rash irruption.

Theodor Kaftan, General Superintendent of Schleswig-Holstein, author of *Moderne Theologie des Allen Glaubens* (vide LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, Vol. xxxviii, pp. 175 sqq. and Vol. xl, pp. 1 sqq.), and one of the most prominent and influential churchmen of Germany, publishes a brochure on the subject entitled *Wo Stehen Wir?* He first traces in outline the dismal picture afforded by present-day religious conditions, illustrating with the concrete instance of the Heydron trial before his own consistorium at Kiel. Then he shows the infeasibility, especially from a financial point of view, of Geffcken's proposal to divide every congregation into two parts, one the liberal, the other the conservative. Kaftan proceeds then to show that the lines of difference have become so sharp that the very existence of the national Church is threatened. Until recently the liberal pastors still respected the Church's Confession. Since then they have taken a more aggressive attitude towards both Church and Confession and now they completely ignore the Church's Confessional position. The next step will be to omit the Catechism. Then the prescribed forms for ministerial acts will be dispensed with, and finally the hymnal will go. Then the faith will have disappeared entirely from all Church forms and orders, and the Church of Christ will be in complete dissolution. Surely at the present rate the national Church is in danger.

But Kaftan believes that the State-Church can still be rescued for the masses. He suggests as a possible solution that each individual congregation shall have the right, if it so desires, to decide that it will no longer belong to the Church of the Lutheran or the Evangelical Confession but will henceforth continue to exist as a "Modern Christian Congregation." Those within each congregation who remain true to the Confession, where they are the small minority, should have to be provided for in some way, just how Kaftan does not make plain. With reference to the salaries of the pastors some just compromise would have to be made with the "modern congregation." The nature of this compromise would have to be determined by the circumstances and numbers in each case. This new species of

religious organization would thus remain in external connection with the State-Church and yet would have the right to teach what it pleased. At the same time the State-Church would remain what it now is, the Church of the Confession with its traditional ecclesiastical orders and its doctrinal discipline. Thus would Kaftan hope to bridge over the present crisis.

This suggestion by Kaftan and the changes he proposes are very mild as compared with the radical revision of ecclesiastical organization proposed in other quarters. Erich Förster of Frankfurt am Main has just published a booklet entitled *Entwurf eines Gesetzes betreffend die Religionsfreiheit im Preussischen Staat, mit Einleitung und Begründung vorgelegt*. This is discussed at length by Theodor Kaftan in two current articles in *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* and by Karl Sell in *Die Christliche Welt*. Kaftan styles it a "new religious law for Prussia." Sell calls it "not separation of Church and State but unchurching the State and denationalizing the religious societies." Förster lays down two fundamental principles which he insists must be observed in the approaching readjustment of ecclesiastical organization. The one is that as religion is an essential and indispensable factor of civilization it is as much the duty of the State to care for the religious culture of her citizens as it is her duty to foster art and science, but that henceforth the cost of religion shall fall only on such as desire its benefits. The other fundamental principle is that religion is essentially a matter of freedom and can never be made a matter of compulsion in any sense of the term.

What Förster desires therefore is not complete separation of Church and State but separation of religion and State, the limitation of the powers of State to the mere external administration of Church affairs. The State shall be excluded from all matters of religion and shall concern itself only about the legal aspects of the Churches, shall further the interests of the Churches by granting them the right to levy taxes upon their members, and by its strong arm shall guarantee their material safety and undisturbed freedom. Förster has pondered his subject long and well and lays down the details of his plan in 142 paragraphs. His system would dispense entirely with the State-Church. Uniformity in Church polity and organization is not a part of the plan. The individual congregations would have the right to

band themselves together into great organizations which we in this country would call unions, assemblies, synods, councils, or conferences. These bodies would supersede the established Church. And Förster plans for the possibility of five kinds of such general national organizations: Lutheran, Reformed, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Dissenters. These general organizations would have powers resembling somewhat those exercised by the general bodies in America. Their special function, of course, would be the administration of the internal affairs of their congregations, such as the preparation of the clergy and the calling of pastors, the regulation of worship, the determination of confessional position, the administration of doctrinal discipline, and the collection and application of benevolences.

The plan presents a host of practical definitions of sphere and relations. We can not describe the details here. Suffice it to say that Förster's *Entwurf* is a serious effort to be just to all parties. It has been so recognized by all. But it is doubtful whether the general outline will be the first to be adopted when a change is made. It would certainly denote a very long step for the first one. Nevertheless it has set churchmen to thinking. It will form the basis of the discussion which is sure to come in the very near future. The chief significance of Förster's work lies in the fact that it is the first detailed suggestion for the practical solution of the greatest problem now confronting the theological world of Germany.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

GENERAL COUNCIL PUBLICATION BOARD. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, as embodying the Evangelical Confession of the Christian Church. By Theodore E. Schmauk and C. Theodore Benze, with translations from the Introduction and writings of Theodore Kolde, Professor in Erlangen. Cloth. Pp. cxxxi, 962. Price \$4.00.

From the preface we learn that "the present work is a broad attempt to do justice to the Confessional Principle of the Evangelical Church, in the midst of a feeling or spirit of our time which does it injustice. * * * It desires to set forth more fully this Church's comprehensive and vitalizing grasp of the Confessional Principle of Christianity, in the belief that our Confession comes direct from Christ in the Word of Scripture, as the answer and testimony of Faith unto its Lord, and unto all the world; and in the assurance that this Faith will ever enlarge its circles of contact, and that it holds in its embrace the strength of the past, the potency of the present, and the hope of the future." "The practical aim is an effort to make clear to the judgment and conscience of English Lutherans that the chief matter before the Lutheran Church to-day, as a Church of the living Faith, is not its relation to an outside Christianity, however timely or pressing—or even embarrassing—that may seem to be; but that the great and immediate duty of the Church is to learn to know, and to more fully develop her own highest principle and character, as the bearer of Word and Sacrament."

The Confessional Principle, as set forth in the volume before us is "The answer of the soul and the Church to the Word." The Lutheran Confessions are the concrete expression of this Principle. The theological, political and religious background of the age of the Reformation, which gave birth to our Confessions is clearly depicted. The complicated historical questions are disentangled and properly interpreted. The chapters introduced from Kolde are exceedingly helpful, and make one wish for the translation of Kolde's entire work on the Augustana.

There is a vast amount of matter, original and quoted from many sources, indicating a wide knowledge and strong grasp of the subject. Indeed, the student of the Book of Concord will

find in *The Confessional Principle* invaluable aid both as to matter and interpretation.

The question of the text of the Augustana is ably discussed, and the conclusion is reached that the present *edito princeps* is true to the original as to substance. It is the unaltered Augsburg Confession of the Lutheran Church as included in the Book of Concord and as incorporated in the life and literature of that Church. All efforts to reconstruct it upon data such as the various versions and translations, used for instance by Tschackert, have proved futile and must from the nature of the case be comparatively useless. The question is not as to exact language of the autograph copies, which have been lost, but as to the truth of the content of the *textus receptus*. The *edito princeps* of 1531 must be taken as the norm by which to settle the authenticity of the Augustana. This is the *unaltered* edition, not as contrasted with what went before it, but with the various *altered* editions which followed it, specially that of 1540.

One of the most interesting chapters is that treating of "The Hand of God in the Formation of the Augsburg Confession, as shown by the course of events in 1529 and 1530, and in the letters of Luther and Melancthon." This is a chronological study of events in the light of original sources. These are set before the reader in such a simple and graphic manner that he is able to draw his own conclusions. It is apparent that the guiding and overruling hand of Divine Providence so shaped affairs that, in spite of the combined opposition of the Emperor and the emissaries of the Pope, the cause of truth was vindicated in the great Confession. Little did the evangelicals realize that they were making a creed which should live for ages.

The formulation of the Augustana is properly credited to the graceful, theological pen of Melancthon, while the doctrine and substance thereof is Luther's, who was the chief factor in the composition of the Schwabach and Torgau Articles, which enter so largely into the Augustana. But let no one for a moment suppose that this was an easy task. Indeed, amid the confusion at Augsburg, Melancthon and his friends were taxed to the very utmost.

The claims of Dr. J. A. Brown against the assertion of Dr. C. P. Krauth, as quoted by Dr. F. W. Conrad in a paper read at the meeting of the Lutheran Diet held in Philadelphia in 1877 are sustained by "*The Confessional Principle*." Introduction, p. xevi. Dr. Krauth was firmly of the opinion that Luther at Coburg had seen the Augsburg Confession at three different times during the course of its preparation, the last time being between June 8th and 25th. Dr. Brown challenged the proof of this, which has never been furnished. It is now abundantly clear that Luther saw the Confession but twice during the pro-

cess of its composition by Melancthon; and so Dr. Brown's judgment is vindicated. How far the Drs. Brown and Krauth may have been influenced by prejudice, it is not for us to say. The fact remains that Melancthon wrote the Confession upon the basis of the work done by Luther.

The Confessional Principle represents Melancthon in a very unenviable light, while allowing his great learning and his skill in the formulation of doctrine. His timidity and vacillation, his willingness to compromise, now with Rome and now with Geneva, seriously imperiled not simply Lutheranism but Protestantism itself. Great, indeed, were his services to the evangelical church, but his weakness made him unfit to be a great leader, as was witnessed particularly after Luther's death in the matter of the Leipsic Interim. After his own death the Lutherans were divided into various camps, especially the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists. Fierce controversies arose which demanded a plain interpretation of the Augustana or a restatement of it. This was reached after various efforts in the Formula of Concord. This Formula was adopted in good faith by numerous theologians, cities and states, and was rejected by a few for petulant or other insufficient reasons. It accomplished the pacification of the Lutheran Church, and preserved its self-respect and right to exist. It is a noble statement of scripture doctrine in simple and moderate language. Personally we accept its teachings as in harmony with the Bible, and with the Augsburg Confession.

If we may summarize briefly, though somewhat imperfectly, the content of "*The Confessional Principle*," we would do it as follows:

1. The Evangelical Lutheran Church should be loyal to her Confessional Principle. Page 1.
2. The Confessional Principle implies the acceptance of, adherence to, and the defense of the complete teaching, on the Word and Sacraments, of our Church as found in any or all of her Confessions. If this Principle be accepted, "*any one Confession will be sufficient for us* (that is, in our informal relations to each other," &c.), &c. P. 7.
3. The Church needs Confessions, to summarize and to interpret Scripture, to promote unity and to fix a standard as a norm by which to try false doctrine and practice, and to be a means of teaching and fostering the one true faith of the Church P. 21.
4. The Augsburg Confession is such a Confession, embodying the principles for which the living Confessor Luther contended. The volume ably presents its history and character. The Unaltered Confession is the *edito princeps* of 1531. It alone is authoritative.

5. The Formula of Concord, providentially given to the Church, to restore its peace and to conserve its doctrine, is equally binding, in its briefer form, with the Augustana. The Epitome is the Confession; the Comprehensive Declaration is the explanation and defense. The acceptance of the Epitome as a confession would hasten the harmony of the Lutheran Church.

6. The Confessional Principle enunciated throughout the volume will not permit the Lutheran Church to unite in so-called Church federation as it exists in this country to-day. Such a union would be a compromise with error. Nor can the Lutheran Church join in moral reformatory movements, which are of a purely civil character. Its mission is the regeneration of the world through appeal to the individual.

It seems to us that there will be a very general agreement with the positions taken in the first four points of the summary.

In reference to the fifth point there always has been a decided difference of opinion. Personally, with many others, we accept the teachings of the Formula of Concord. Yet we do not forget that the majority of Lutheran Christians throughout the world have not formally adopted the Concordia as their creed. Nor can it be denied that its adoption by several large bodies has not healed the breach that separates them. It is true that many Lutherans have not been properly informed as to its contents, or may be the victims of prejudice; nevertheless the fact remains that they have not received it as they have the Augustana. Shall we disown them, and refuse them the right hand of fellowship? Is not the *bona fide* subscription of the Augsburg Confession sufficient as a doctrinal basis for practical co-operation among all who call themselves by the name of Luther? The failure to subscribe the Concordia does not mean its rejection. There are multitudes who do not for a moment deny anything taught by it, who nevertheless deem subscription superfluous. Indeed, it seems to us that the acceptance of the Augustana teaching carries with it the acceptance of the teaching of the Concordia, when properly understood.

The plea is made that the brevity of the Epitomes would safely allow its inclusion among creedal statements. As a fact it is four times as long as the 21 doctrinal articles of the Augustana—the latter covers about ten octavo pages, the former about forty.

Let us have peace. Lutherans ought to walk and to work together. If some think that the original Protestant creed is comprehensive enough in its statements and implications to assure a true confessional principle, why should not those who want this and more, walk with their brethren hand in hand in promulgating the gospel, in word and sacrament? We feel sure

that the difference between these two is more apparent than real.

The sixth and last point of the summary will surely not meet with common acceptance on the part of many thousand American Lutherans. There is, no doubt, much "unionism" in which no Lutheran should share. But co-operation on the part of religious bodies for the conservation of good order and the suppression of vice ought not to be interpreted as an evidence of confessional laxity or the sacrifice of our Lutheran views. A man of God ought not to forget that he is a Christian citizen and that it is his right and duty to unite with all other Christians for the furtherance of good morals and humane institutions.

The Confessional Principle does great credit to Lutheran scholarship and will take its place along the side of the books of Krauth, Valentine, Jacobs, and Richard.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

In Mother's Arms. By Theodore E. Schmauk. Pp. 135. Price \$1.25.

This fine little volume by the gifted and versatile Lutheran preacher and author, Dr. T. E. Schmauk, has several sub-titles which more fully explain its nature and purpose. It is "For Mothers of Babes from Birth to Two Years of Age." It also includes "Directions to Pastors, Churches, Schools and Teachers of this Department." It is further explained that it is "The Mother's First Text-book in Lutheran General Council Graded System of Child-Training and Instruction for Sunday and Parish Schools."

The general trend, as well as the standpoint, of the book may be gathered best, perhaps, from the table of contents which includes chapters on the following subjects, "Members of God's Flock," "Training the Lamb in God's Flock," "Through the Touch of a Loving Eye," "Through the Touch of a Pure Heart," "Through the Touch of a Clean Hand," "Through the Touch of a Firm Good Will," "Through the Continuous Twining of Habits," "Through the Touch of Cradle and Nursery," and "Through the Touch of the Spirit in Voice and Sweet Lullaby."

The book is illuminated with sixteen full page pictures of mother and child, a number being after some of the most familiar paintings of the Madonna and Child. There are also many other smaller pictures, and a Certificate of Baptism, and also a certificate of Enrollment in the "Babes in Christ Department of the Church School."

Altogether this is as beautiful, rich and suggestive a volume as could be put into the hands of mothers, and any others who may have the care or training of the babes of the Church. It should have a wide circulation.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EATON AND MAINS. NEW YORK.

The Lure of Books. By Lynn Harold Hough. *Trees and Men.* By William Valentine Kelley. Paper. Price each, 25 cents net.

These are two delightful essays, well printed and attractively bound. The first is a smooth and finished exposition of the infinite pleasure to be had from books; the second is a sympathetic account of the mysterious spell wrought by trees upon the mind of man. Both are written *con amore* and both are to be heartily recommended. Either would make a good substitute for the usual elaborate and useless Christmas card.

The Lesson Handbook 1912, a concise commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons. By Henry H. Meyer, Assistant Editor S. S. Publications, Meth. Epis. Church. Leather. Pp. 155. Size 3 x 6. Price 25 cents.

Truly this is a *multum in parvo* for pastors, teachers and adult scholars, giving the text, golden text, daily readings, critical introduction, commentary and the spiritual teaching of the lesson, besides suggestions for further study. The notes are very brief but to the point.

Down the Road. William Valentine Kelley. X. 421. \$1.50 net.

A collection of delightful causeries by the editor of the *Methodist Review*. Thirty of them, there are, seven each under the general headings of Nature, Life, Literature and nine under that of Religion. They are a setting forth of the thoughts of a man who has a sane and religious outlook in the world, taking their starting point from happenings of the day—many of them from books, but being the output of a wholesome view of life. In the mass of books that passes before us, some morbid, some darksome, many useless, many vexing because their writers seem to have taken to heart the old saying that language was made to hide thought, it is a pleasure to meet a volume like this—with no great pretense, easy to read, sunny in temper, of many a varying mood, lightly fanciful in "About Cupids," excoriating in "Oscar Wilde" and "A Romantic Christ," but always leaving a good taste in the mouth. One would judge the author was most sympathetic with nature and literature. The longest essay is on "Emily Dickinson: The Hermit Thrush of Amherst," 70 pages. The next on "Pleasures and Pains of Foreign Travel," 35 pages. They will bear re-reading.

F. H. CLUTZ.

Chambersburg, Pa.

Great Themes of the Bible. By Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D.

Pp. 408. Price \$1.30 net.

The chief reason for the title chosen for this fine volume of sermons seems to be that it is one of a series of volumes with similar titles. It has been preceded by volumes on "The Great Sinners of the Bible," "The Great Saints of the Bible," "The Great Portraits of the Bible," "The Great Promises of the Bible," etc. Certainly, on opening a volume with such a title, one naturally expects to find such themes discussed as God, Sin, Redemption, Faith, Obedience, Justification, Eternal Life, and so on. These and such as these are surely the "great themes" of the Bible to which prophets and psalmists and apostles, as well as Jesus Himself, are ever turning. But instead of these we find such themes as the following, "The Answer to Life's Hidden Riddle," "The Wall of Fire," "The Strength Won from the Desert," "The Bird in Thy Bosom," "The Garments of Religion," &c. All these subjects are interesting, and the discussion of them is unusually interesting and stimulating. But is it not a misnomer to call these "the Great Themes of the Bible," except it be in the sense that all themes are great that treat of religion or of man's religious life and experience?

The exegesis is also rather eccentric and forced at times, and the same may be said of the homiletics. For example, the words "The Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" are taken from Romans 8:2 and made the text for a sermon on "The Spirit of the Christian Life" which is said to be a spirit of faith, a spirit of obedience and a spirit of service. All this is true enough but it is hardly the truth of the text. So also the words of Paul to Timothy in II Tim. 1:14, "That good thing which was committed unto thee guard," are made the text for a sermon on "The Bird in Thy Bosom," the bird being explained as the soul, and the sermon dealing with the ways in which we are to keep our souls, mainly "through work and struggle and effort in achievement." Such a treatment of texts makes the Bible a juggler's book in the hands of the preacher, into which he may read, and out of which he may get, almost anything he pleases. Notwithstanding the fact that many other great preachers besides Dr. Banks have often used the Bible in this way, we cannot help feeling that it is neither just nor wise, nor even reverent and truthful. It seems to us to come perilously near to what Paul calls "handling the Word of God deceitfully," which he says he carefully avoided as a minister of Christ. See II Cor. 4, 2.

But in spite of these criticisms we wish to commend these sermons especially to preachers for reading and study. They are full of life and spirit. The style is luminous and attractive. The illustrations are fresh and forceful, fairly tingling with human life and interest. There is also manifest everywhere a deep

spiritual insight, a warm sympathy with all the struggle and needs of the soul and a fine skill in ministering to them out of the Word of God and from a rich Christian experience. While in some things, such as have been referred to above, these sermons cannot be regarded as good models, they will certainly be very suggestive and stimulating to both preachers and laymen.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE MACMILLAN CO. NEW YORK.

Everyman's Religion. By George Hodges. Cloth. Pp. 297.
Price \$1.50 net.

Dr. Hodges of the Cambridge Episcopal Seminary, always writes well and always on themes which are worth while. The volume of essays, fifteen in number, deals with the supreme subject of religion, in its practical aspects. From the first essay on *The Background of Religion*, to the last on *The Life Everlasting*, there is a logical progression of thought and of experience in the realization of divine disclosure and fellowship with man. These essays constitute an excellent apologetic of the Christian religion, showing its real ground in fact and reason. It would be hard indeed, to gainsay the cogent arguments for true religion as here set forth, except as they fail to appeal to the unappreciative, to those whose characters are not attuned to truth. The failure to convince this class of men is paralleled in other spheres. "How shall we answer one who maintains that the works of the old masters are all foolish, and are not to be compared with the pictures in the illustrated magazines; or who believes that the old sculptures in the museums ought to be thrown out with other broken and battered things upon the rubbish heap? How shall we argue with the Shah of Persia who was greatly pleased with the tuning of the orchestra, and greatly bored by the symphony?"

Dr. Hodges has succeeded in translating theology into plain every day language. From a strictly technical point of view he may be criticized in some statements, but for the purpose intended the work is superlative. "Everyman" should read the book not simply in order to be convinced of the importance of religion, but to have many of his views clarified.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Church Universal. J. J. Lanier. Pages XX. 264. \$1.25 net.

The sub-title of this book is "A Restatement of Christianity in Terms of Modern Thought." It reflects the movement of present-day thought, as it is an effort to so state the essential re-

quirements of a society of Christian people, that they may be assented to by all Christian people and so the society be a Universal Church. To do this, the author distinguishes between the *Basic Facts, Religion and Theology*. He has written three other volumes expounding the basic facts, which are "The Kinship of God and Man"—"The Fatherhood of God" and the resulting "Brotherhood of Man." Religion is the outgrowth of this kinship and is love. These two factors are essential. Theology is the attempted explanation of the facts. The explanation is secondary and, hence, the theological requirement of a Church Universal will be a minimum.

The conditions of membership are repentance, faith and obedience. The formal requirements are the Ten Commandments, The Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. There are three sacraments—Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Communion.

The book is divided into three parts (I) The Church Universal; (II) The Sacramental System of the Christian Church; (III) Lectures on the Catechism. The discussion is thoughtful and well worked out. There are three things that will militate against the book reaching the audience for whom it is evidently intended, "the reasonable Spiritual-minded person"; first, a distinctly ecclesiastical flavor to the style; second, a decided element of mysticism, and third the prominence given to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The author speaks of the Catholic Church, the Roman and Evangelical Sectaries.

F. H. CLUTZ.

Chambersburg, Pa.

P. ANSTADT & SONS. 224 APSLEY ST., PHILADELPHIA.

The Pew to the Pulpit, or Letters from Laymen. Bound in heavy Sepia paper. Pp. 64. Price 20 cents postpaid.

The compiler of this interesting booklet, the Rev. W. W. Anstadt, of Philadelphia, was appointed by the General Synod Lutheran Ministerial Association of Philadelphia, of which he is a member, to prepare a paper for one of their meetings on the topic indicated in the above title. In preparing to perform this duty he sent out letters to fifty laymen, regardless of denomination, explaining the occasion of them and asking the question, "What Shall I Say to the Preachers?" The most suggestive of the replies are collected in this little book which ought to be read, and "inwardly digested" by every preacher. Of course the letters are of varying merit, and some are wise and some are—otherwise. But all are well worth reading for the light they throw on the standpoint of the "pew" in judging the "pulpit." As so often happens with letters, one of the writers, "A Business Man," puts the very best thought into a Post-script, "P. S.

Above all else do not give us *Magazine Sermons*. We may want them, but no need for them. Be a *preacher*, not a *magazine*. Do not cater to our itching ears, else we starve amidst plenty."

There are many other very quotable sentences, and even whole letters. But whether you are a preacher or a layman you will want to read it all. Send the small price and get it.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE GERMAN LITERARY BOARD. BURLINGTON, IOWA.

Wasser aus dem Heilsbrunnen, Schlichte Predigten für schlichte Bürger des Reiches Christi, von Otto Bergfelder, Ev. Luth. Pastor in Plum City, Wis. Cloth. Pp. 162.

This beautiful little book contains sixteen "Plain Sermons for Plain Citizens of Christ's Kingdom," preached on festival days and other occasions. They are aptly called "Water out of the well of Salvation," and are sweet and refreshing. The language is simple and the thought plain. They were, no doubt, edifying to the hearers, and will be so to the reader.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. NEW YORK.

A History of the Hebrew People from the Division of the Kingdom to the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C.. By Charles Foster Kent, Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and History, Brown University. With maps and charts. Cloth. Pp. xvii, 218. Price \$1.25 net.

Dr. Kent expresses clear views in simple, graphic language, so that the story of the ancient Hebrew people appeals to us with an unusual interest. The present hand-book is part of a series already widely used in schools. The fact that it has reached a fifth edition testifies to its popularity. Conservatives feel that perhaps Dr. Kent has yielded a little too much to "advanced" criticism, but no one will deny his seriousness and his faith.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

REPOSITORY PRESS. CHAMBERSBURG, PA.

The Seventy-Fifth Year. A History of the Second Evangelical Lutheran Church of Chambersburg, Pa., 1836-1911. Also a Brief History of General Synod Lutheranism in the Cumberland Valley. By Rev. C. W. Heathcote, S.T.D.

The title indicates the purpose and contents of this little vol-

ume of 41 pages. It is a valuable contribution to the history of our Church in the great State of Pennsylvania where it has flourished so long and so successfully. All such work is to be welcomed and commended. The book has a large number of illustrations prepared from photographs which adds greatly to its interest and value.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE. ST. LOUIS, MO.

Justification. By Professor W. H. T. Dau. New Edition. Pp. 60, 4½ x 7 in., paper cover. Price 10 cents.

This luminous discussion of the subject of Justification from the conservative Lutheran standpoint was originally read by the author as an essay before the Augustana E. L. Conference. It deals with every phase of the subject, and it is not strange that a second edition has been made necessary. On the title page we are informed that the "entire proceeds of the sale of this pamphlet shall be devoted to beneficiary education at Concordia College, Conover, N. C."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Amerikanischer Kalender für Deutsche Lutheraner, auf das Jahr 1912. Pp. 96 5¼ x 8¾ in. Price 10 cents postpaid.

Besides the usual matter found in Church Almanacs this Calendar has nearly thirty pages of appropriate reading matter. About one-fourth of this relates to the Walther-Jubilee which attracted so much attention among our Missouri Lutheran brethren and among Lutherans generally in this country in 1911.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

AMERICAN BAPTIST PUBLICATION SOCIETY. PHILADELPHIA.

Baptist Confessions of Faith. By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Pp. XII, 368.

This volume will of course be of special interest to Baptists. But it will have great interest also for all students of Church History. As is well known the Baptists are entirely congregational and very democratic in church government. The autonomy of each congregation is absolute, and, as the author says in the Introduction to this volume, "There has never been among them any ecclesiastical authority which could impose a Confession upon their churches or other bodies." Hence, as Prof. McGlothlin says further, "Their Confessions are, strictly speak-

ing, statements of what a certain group of Baptists, large or small, did believe at a certain time, rather than a creed which any Baptist must believe at all times in order to hold ecclesiastical position or be considered a Baptist. In the latter sense there has been no Baptist creed." Even though this is the case it has naturally come to pass that some of these confessional statements have come to have a wider recognition than others, and a much greater historical significance. This volume is an effort to collect these, and to present them in a systematic and historical order. The author says in the Preface, "The volume presents all the material necessary to acquaint one with the doctrinal position of the Baptists throughout the world, and makes an impressive presentation of their substantial unity, with some exceptions, on the more important points of our religion. It is also noteworthy that doctrinal differences have been melting away until there is probably a greater measure of agreement at present than ever before."

The volume is divided into five Parts, dealing respectively with The Anabaptists, The Mennonites, The English Baptists, American Baptists, and Confessions of Other Nationalities.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

